FUTURE OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

by JOHN STUART

MAY 9
1944

NEW MASSES

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MICHIGAN'S POLITICAL TIDES

by TOBIAS SWIFT

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by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

MARX AND DARWIN

by K. A. TIMIRYAZEV

THE BANNING OF STRANGE FRUIT

by SAMUEL SILLEN

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: No Need for Cassandra, *by Virginia Gardner;* Son of Poland, *by Eve Grot;* Hatful of Plays, *by Harry Taylor;* Fan Mail, *by William Gropper.*

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RENDEZVOUS

The next two weeks are crucial for NEW MASSES.

This is being written on May 1: on May 15 we have a rendezvous with our creditors. That day is the deadline we wrote you about two weeks ago.

On that day we must pay out $8,000 in our most pressing debts or else. . . .

Since we informed you of this, three weeks ago, our readers have sent NM $4,000. Half way mark.

$4,000 to go. In other words, if we're assured of getting about $300 in the mail daily, until the fifteenth, there'll be no crisis.

Does that sound like an impossible goal to you?

Not impossible at all, but if it's not attained we hate to think of the consequences. We're banking on you.

THE EDITORS.

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NEW MASSES

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FUTURE OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

By JOHN STUART

SOME of the liberal critics of the Atlantic Charter have fussed over its lack of conciseness, ripping every consonant and syllable apart in an attempt to discover what it forecasts for the future. Enamored as they are of the blueprint conception of history, nothing but the most exquisitely detailed plans can satisfy their longing to build an equitable world much as a housewife prepares a stew from the *Settlement Cook Book*. With their woes we can be impatient. They will always be unhappy over a document that lists a set of complex goals but prescribes no definite channels through which they can be reached except through the torment and sweat of battle. I can well imagine how during the threshold period of American history, the Declaration of Independence, among the most abstract of great democratic manifestos, dismayed the blueprint seekers by the absence of exact schemes describing the future contours of our federal life.

The Atlantic Charter is a war document. We were not at war when the President placed his signature upon it, but war was being made against us. And that August 1941, meeting between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill when the Charter was formulated marked the closing phases of a fruitless American foreign policy. That policy was bound to the idea that the security of our country was assured by maintaining the strength of the British navy and that distance from Europe was our greatest protector. The Atlantic was supposedly an unbreachable Maginot line. This nineteenth-century dogma in a twentieth-century world restricted our defenses to supplying Britain with the implements of war and hoping that she could continue to sustain herself. The fall of France forced us to begin a reevaluation of a policy that guaranteed neither freedom from Nazi assault nor protection of our interests as a world power. From a strategy of opportunism we were shifting to one divested of the theory that American strength was such that no one would dare challenge it.

THE Atlantic Charter, then, was symbolic of fresh developments in international relationships. When the first Nazi tanks crossed the Soviet border we too crossed the line which marked the frontiers of coalition warfare. Mr. Hull said as much when he remarked in his speech of April 9 that "We in this country have moved from a deep-seated tendency toward separate action to the knowledge and conviction that only through unity of action can there be achieved in this world the results which are essential for the continuance of free peoples." Bearing these words in mind it is immediately clear that the signing of the Charter, so far as its meaning for American foreign policy is concerned, closed the door on the dismal era of isolation and brought it into the invigorating atmosphere of coalition practice and theory.

That to me is the historical impact of the Charter. But more, it closed officially a decade of antagonism towards Britain and the conception of Britain's place as a sort of poor nephew to be abused by the rich uncle. The Charter, moreover, enunciated as government policy, incomplete at that time to be sure and lacking the fullest realization of what our total responsibilities were, that we would have no truck with Hitler. In fact the Charter paved the way for a greater isolation of the European Axis by consolidating Anglo-American cooperation, later to be transformed by the Declaration of the United Nations into a bloc of anti-fascist powers as the common front for victory. This was a signal triumph for Mr. Roosevelt, who had been forced to labor under the most severe restraints of a cabal led by Senators Wheeler and Nye in Washington and the blackguard America Firsters in the rest of the country. When it is remembered that the President made his Charter commitments at a moment when the country was technically at peace and when Wheeler was pressuring the White House to act as the agency for a compromise settlement in Europe (through which Germany would be given back her 1914 colonial empire, and Poland and Czechoslovakia attached as "autonomous" appendages to a Greater Reich) then the President's achievement on the cruiser *Augusta* looms even larger.

The Charter not only represented our entrance into an embryonic coalition but had the immediate practical effect of hastening assistance to the Soviet Union with war materiel. It improved the machinery of joint action, even though the United States was limited in what it could do by the restrictions of the waning peace that marked the palsied months between June and December of 1941. The Charter helped to rally the nations seeking the destruction of Nazi tyranny and associated us

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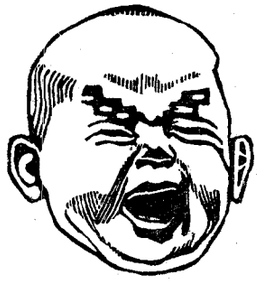
unequivocally with the objectives of the war of liberation. Those objectives were stated in the Charter's eight points renouncing all aims of territorial aggrandizement, arbitrary territorial changes, and upholding the right to self-determination of all peoples, equal access of all states to the trade and raw materials of the world, "the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field" for their economic advancement and social security, "a peace which will afford all the nations the means of dwelling in safety," freedom of the seas, and disarmament of aggressor nations pending the establishment of a permanent system of general security.

IT IS over these points that there has been a widespread public debate: much of it aimless, a good deal of it aimed at hurting the coalition, and most of it directed at using the Charter as a screen to obscure a blatant anti-Sovietism. The quarrel reached the furious stage when Prime Minister Churchill remarked in a recent speech in Parliament, supplemented on another occasion by Foreign Secretary Eden, that the Charter did not preclude territorial adjustments at Germany's expense and that the Charter was not a pledge which Germany could use to escape the penalty for her crimes. Raymond Daniell, writing from London to the New York *Times* (March 26) hopped off from the German issue into a breathless story that as "far as Russia is concerned that part of the Charter that opposes territorial changes not in accord with the freely expressed will of people concerned is made inoperative." Some liberals hit the ceiling and descended to write sizzling rebukes against Churchill's statement noting his "sympathy for the Russian standpoint" in relation to Poland and that the Russian desires for reassurance about their western frontiers were reasonable and just. Those liberals who in the past considered the Charter a 312-word comedy, and had criticized it at every turn, now became the Charter's staunchest champions. And their caterwauling was reechoed by the political pussyfooters on the right who cried that the Charter should be scrapped without much further ado. In fact, Mr. Luce's *Life* (April 3) offered its editorial wastebasket because the Charter was not as well written as the Ten Commandments and, I presume, because Clare Boothe Luce was not its author.

This trans-Atlantic squabble has raised a number of questions as to the Charter's meaning and its place in the war and the peace. It would be the pinnacle of absurdity for me to discuss all the Charter's connotations; only the passage of time and events can give the answers. I have tried to suggest that so far as our country is concerned the Charter marked a transition from unilateral to coalition action. Even about this point we should observe that we have in the past never really acted unilaterally, but rather sought to have other powers adjust themselves to American plans instead of to a joint enterprise.

The Charter as an integral part of the joint declaration of the United Nations placed a distinct moral obligation on us to forego such harmful practices and work cooperatively in the war and in the peace. (In the war by joint pooling of resources and a common strategy; in the peace through international organization.) Historically the Charter will be better understood if it is seen as signalling the close of such methods as Versailles used to maintain "peace" and introducing a new *modus vivendi*—equal and joint cooperation—to achieve stability and world order. And the Charter will be best understood if it is constantly reexamined for dynamic qualities and if it is viewed as a flexible instrument in attaining complex goals. That was the sense in which Mr. Hull approached the document when he described it as "an expression of fundamental objectives toward which we and our allies are directing our policy. . . . It is not a code of laws from which detailed answers to every question can be distilled by painstaking analysis of its words and phrases. It points the direction in which solutions are to be found; it does not give solutions." This very flexibility of Mr. Hull's interpretation implies that the Charter is not a static affair whose constructions cannot be adjusted as the war moves into its final stages, and as we approach the peace. Mr. Churchill had a similar opinion when he observed recently that the Charter must be the subject "for renewed consultations between the principal Allies" as the changing phases of the war succeed one another.



Mask
Helen West Heller

This very sense of change takes the Charter out of the formaldehyde in which its detractors would like to pickle it. Its singular virtue is that it leaves many specific questions for settlement at the ripe moment. For in the complex network of grand alliance, all problems do not emerge simultaneously, nor can they be foreseen all at once. Differences of geography, economic circumstance, political tradition create a multiple of difficulties. What is of key importance is that there is agreement on fundamental objectives, as set forth in the Charter, the practical application of which must conform to the needs of the different countries subscribing to it. And what is of equal importance is that the Charter is given sinew by the four powers who form the repository of the coalition's strength, its wealth and resources.

WHATEVER interpretations were placed on the Charter's broad principles at one period of the war, another period can bring fresh interpretations in the light of fresh needs and developments. The Charter had a more limited meaning when it was first promulgated and when many circles assumed that its purposes could and would be fulfilled only by Great Britain and the United States. The Charter was enriched and its significance increased by subsequent United Nations documents; for example, by the Anglo-Soviet treaty, by the master lend-lease agreement, by the Soviet-Czechoslovak pact, by the United States' agreement with Mexico, by the agreement establishing the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency, and, most important of all, by the Moscow and Cairo declarations culminating in the great Teheran statement. The Charter will have even more forceful impact as France takes her rightful place in the international community and as other Allied states retrieve their independence.

In fact not only do the documents I have just mentioned implement and supplement the Charter but they are the specific means through which the Charter is given the energy of life. When compared with the Charter's principles, the Anglo-Soviet treaty shows definitely that the Charter's intent is embodied in the practical terms of the accord between London and Moscow. The Charter speaks, for example, in its fourth plank, of access on equal terms by all states to the trade and raw materials of the world. The master lend-lease agreement paves the way towards fulfilling this objective through Article VII which calls for international and domestic measures to eliminate all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce and for reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers. It also envisions consultations among governments to attain these goals. Such discussions are already in process on matters related to oil resources, and principles have been prepared as the framework for future conferences on international currency stabilization. The meetings that are being held and will be held represent of course the fulfillment of the Charter's fourth point at a later stage of the war. In the desperate days of the summer of 1941, that plank could have meant only the marshaling of all economic resources on the part of the United States to assist Britain and the Soviet Union. However, now that we are on the brink of victory in Europe, the question of war supplies remains important, but begins to recede before the large tasks of

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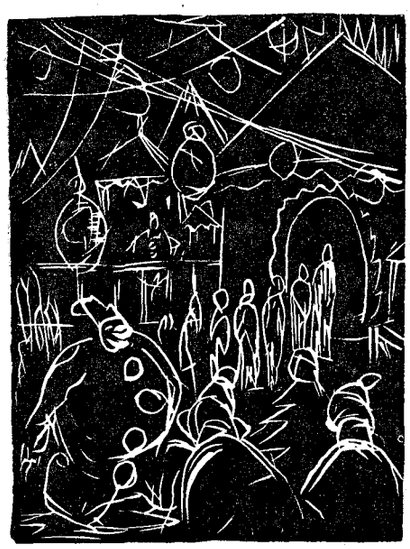
reconstruction, trade, and commerce—in other words, peace supplies. This to me is the simple dialectic by which, for example, principle four of the Charter has been working out.

The Charter has already exerted its weight and will exert even more as the future unfolds. Only people who live in an abstract world see it as an abstract document. Their peculiar brand of criticism links itself to the hardboiled reactionary school which, in the months since the Polish border issue came to the fore, has tried to use the Charter's self-determination principle against the USSR. It is the old story of the crows donning peacocks' feathers. Those who lecture the Soviet Union on self-determination might just as well lecture Einstein on mathematics.

The argument of the "defenders" of self-determination runs somewhat as follow: if the USSR genuinely subscribed to the Charter, it would give up the Baltic states, "Eastern Poland," Bessarabia, and Karelia and let the inhabitants of these territories decide their own destinies—on the assumption, of course, that they have not done so already. History and ethnography are conveniently blocked out of the picture. And when one probes into the thinking of these suddenly zealous partisans of self-determination one concludes inevitably that even if the peoples of the Baltic states, for example, did decide to amalgamate with the USSR, after a plebiscite or by whatever means would be agreeable to the Wilsonian determinists, that amalgamation would be reprehensible—Bolshevism would be spreading its influence. In other words they are for self-determination, but not when the practice of that principle means a reunion of peoples torn away from the USSR after the last war. And probing even more deeply into these atrophied minds, we find amid other stone age relics a little axe called *cordon sanitaire*. Clemenceau's ghost still chairs the councils of tory groups who would like to resurrect Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia as part of a wall of states which the war has toppled once and forever.

It is clear that under the Charter the Soviet Union has every right to secure her frontiers as we have every right to secure our own. Walter Lippmann wrote in the New York *Herald Tribune* that the USSR's interest "in her western boundaries is not the desire to obtain territory or to introduce Communism in western Europe, but to put an end to the possibility of there being anti-Russian states on her western borderland." There is even more than security involved in the Soviet attitude. If security were the only pillar on which the USSR's policy rests then she might have held on to all of Finland after the war in 1940 and destroyed the Mannerheim government. Finland's Axis alliance in the present war, her government's mental reservations at the very moment it was signing the peace treaty in 1940, and its attachment to Berlin's kite, would have fully justified the Red Army's occupation of the entire country. Anna Louise Strong in her book *The Soviets Expected It* reports a conversation she had with Sir Stafford Cripps, the British Ambassador to Moscow, shortly after the Soviet-Finnish war. He told her that "the Soviets may be sorry some day that they didn't take more of Finland when they could." But Soviet respect for Finnish independence (given Finland in the first place by the USSR) and the rights of the Finnish people—a respect which dominates the Soviet government's dealings with its own numerous republics and with nations abroad—made such a move impossible. That respect for Finnish rights was reiterated when Helsinki recently approached the USSR for armistice terms. Moscow declared that "it had no grounds to feel particular confidence in the present Finnish government, but if the Finns had no other possibility, the Soviet government in the interests of peace agreed to negotiate with the present Finnish government on the cessation of hostilities."

That statement was completely consonant with Soviet practice. And it is more than just security which shapes the Soviet attitude towards Bessarabia, or "Eastern Poland," or the Baltics. These areas are part of the Soviet Union by the will of their peoples. In the fall of 1939 the National Assemblies of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia ("Eastern Poland"), for example, petitioned the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to incorporate these territories as part of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics. Everyone over eighteen took part in the elections which were held for candidates to the Assembly. In the Western Ukraine ninety-three percent of the electorate went to the polls, and in Western Byelorussia ninety-six percent. All votes were cast by secret ballot. The total result—one of the great examples in history of the exercise of self-determination — overwhelmingly approved reunion with the USSR. And it is the summit of the ridiculous to hear some people suggest—the New York *Times* editors included—that perhaps a plebiscite under international auspices be held to determine once again what these elections decided so unreservedly. One might just as well start a clamor for an international plebiscite to determine whether Louisiana be returned to France or Texas to Mexico.



Maxwell Gordon

"We have not and cannot have," said Marshal Stalin in his speech on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the October Revolution, "such war aims as imposing our will and our regime on the Slavs and other enslaved peoples of Europe who are awaiting our aid. Our aid consists in assisting these people in their liberation struggle against Hitler tyranny and then setting them free to rule on their own land as they desire. No intervention whatever in the internal affairs of other peoples!" If ever there was a statement by a leader of the coalition respecting the Charter's self-determination clause then this was it. And more, —the Red Army has shed rivers of blood in defense of this principle, a principle which might well have been lost to civilization if it had not been for the immense burdens which the Soviet military forces have carried so successfully. The right to each nation's sovereignty and independence is what this war is being fought for, and the Red Army's contribution to the protection of this right can be read on the tombstones of millions of Nazi killed on that coiling front from the Arctic to the Black Sea.

The Charter is a living instrument. Its provisos, as I have tried to suggest, are complex and their attainment is intimately bound to the developments growing out of a successful termination of the war. Any attempt to deal with the Charter independently of the international scene and the probable course of events is a serious error. As a war document the Charter is indivisible from the other great war documents. It complements them as they complement it. It points the way to the settlement of colonial problems: it does not offer the means of settlement. Its application to Germany is totally dependent on the joint views of the leading Allies who now obviously have it under discussion. But one thing is certain: the Charter cannot be abused for the revival of an aggressor Germany or of a Germany which will abuse it to throw the world into darkness once again. The Charter is a symbol of promise and of hope resting in good will among nations. It cannot be used to freeze the future without freezing its ideals. It is as permanent as the grand alliance. Without that alliance and the four powers that lead it, the Charter becomes parchment and ink, a museum curio indicative of things that might have been but did not come to pass.

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SUN AND SMOG

By ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

RIDING down the Allegheny Valley at midnight, one feels the wartime pulse of Pittsburgh. Shifts are changing, workers, men and women, Negro and white, bundled in warm clothes, get on and off. The man who took me to the bus was on his way to buy a couple of bottles of beer for his wife, coming off shift. "She likes it after a day's work," he said simply. His Croatian mother told me of her life of struggle as we waited. "Goodbye Missus, come again," she said, smiling warmly. She cried when the Nazis temporarily recaptured her native village from the Partisans. Yugoslavia is near and dear to thousands here. Tito's furrowed face is in every Slav home I visit. They await news. They rejoice in the victories of the Red Army.

I listen to workers' talk as the smoke-filled bus rolls around the hills. There is no dead-pan silence of aloof strangers, as in our subways. It's good not to see noses stuck in the *News* and *Mirror*. Good Americanisms heard now around the world—"So long, Bill"—"Take it easy, Joe"—"Be seeing you, John"—talk of unions, machines, output, politics goes on. These are older men. Their sons are in the war. Their identification badges and CIO buttons gleam like medals.

The lights of "Iron City Bell" signs twinkle by. Pittsburgh looms near. She is a dirty-faced eastern twin of white and gleaming San Francisco—she would be as beautiful if she could be clean. Enthroned upon her hills, encircled by her rivers—she is queen of industrial America—dingy, sooty, grimy—with garlands of ashes, gas, smoke, fog, and flame in her hair. "Smog," they call it, and accept it as a soldier does mud. A woman said to a soldier, "First we have to win the war, then fight this awful dirt." He agreed solemnly, as to a postwar pact to enlist in the women's endless struggles to keep curtains white and floors clean. Flags hang here limp and grey, as if battle-scarred.

The meeting was typical of nearly forty I held in western Pennsylvania and West Virginia, in a seven weeks' recruiting job for the Communist Party. If the women were in charge, we had coffee and luscious home-made cake—if the men, we had beer. It was informal and sociable at this miner's home. Three miners, four miners' wives, three daughters—war workers—helped start a new branch that night. We discussed the war, Teheran, the elections, the soldiers' vote, women as voters, the postwar world. They are deeply concerned to reelect President Roosevelt. They listen intently, discuss very seriously. Language differences handicap expression, not thought. No one tries to be smart or win an argument, nor are they harassed with rumors. It's a relief not to hear "But *PM* said," or "I read in the *Post*." These people read progressive papers, in Croatian, Slovak, Serbian, and in English—the *Sunday Worker*. They belong to unions, fraternal and Slav organizations, to political action committees. For them the Communist Party is the ideological hub of the wheel.

In spite of the legal persecutions instigated by Dies several years ago in relation to the election petitions and the wholesale harassment of the foreign born, the Communists have maintained prestige and influence here. Most of the Communist leaders who were jailed at that time are now in the armed forces—in the Pacific, Italy, and England. The Supreme Court decision on the Schneiderman case cleared up fears on the rights of naturalized citizens and the legal status of Communists. Communists are well known here by name, Tony Minerich, Mike Stanovich, Tony Solopac, and others, as leaders of past struggles of the unemployed; of the miners; to build the CIO; to fight fascism. Local men who fought in Spain are remembered—Dave Doran, who died there; Harry Steinberg who met death later, torpedoed as a seaman. The death of Henry Forbes, former district organizer of the Party, who was killed in action on February 16 in Italy, caused universal sorrow among thousands who knew and loved him there. The fight of Communists on the home front against defeatists and appeasers is appreciated. The valor of Communists in Europe and China is revered among the national groups. One Greek woman asked me, "Are American Communists *good*, like the Russians?"

THE acceptance of Communists as a win-the-war force is indicated by the fact that I spoke at recruiting meetings in houses, halls, hotels, schools, settlements, recreation centers, and a church, in West Virginia. When Earl Browder speaks in Pittsburgh in June, it will be in one of the biggest theaters and at least 800 new members will welcome him. The original modest quota, 550, was reached April 1 and a new "sight" of 700 set for May 1. Eastern Pennsylvania has a quota of 1,500, and is over 1,000 today; 150 are shipyard workers. From 2,200 to 2,500 new members will be added in the Keystone State by the National Convention, May 20. At this writing, over 14,500 have been added nationally, pretty good for an organization which the croaker press insists is "going out of business."

We are actually just scratching the surface in enrolling those people who naturally belong and are ours just for the asking. They are far more numerous than we estimated at first—old time friends and sympathizers; members of Communists' families; folks who were Communists and "just didn't know it"; associates in trade unions and mass organizations. They are a cross-section of the population—miners, steel, electrical, aluminum, railroad workers—many Negroes and women. I am convinced that when the proposed changes in the Communist Party become final, there will be a tremendous growth in our organization. Its influence as a political force will be greatly increased. The change of name, to fit more accurately its actual role in relation to American politics, meets with understanding and ready acceptance among these basic workers. In West Virginia where progressive forces must defeat the pro-fascist Rush Holt, who aspires to be governor, our people are relieved to be able to concentrate their efforts. A person who signs a petition for a minority party to be placed on the ballot there forfeits his right to vote in the primary of any other party. In former years, this forced our people to isolate themselves in order to carry on an independent Communist campaign, which would be fatal today. Now they will pool their forces with all other progressives for Roosevelt and against Holt.

Earl Browder's speech *Teheran and America* has aroused widespread interest in union circles because it unfolds possibilities of economic security in the postwar period which is the opposite of John L. Lewis' gloomy forebodings. Senator Kilgore of West Virginia sees eye to eye with Browder on the practicality of postwar employment for all. He said recently, "While we have been spending our resources, material and human, we have also come to a great economic self realization as a nation. If we can produce at a rate of $200,000,000,000 a year, with 10,000,000 of our people away from home, what cannot we do when they return?" This makes sense and gives hope even to the miners in West Virginia.

Whenever I return from the coal fields people are curious as to what I have heard, as if I had journeyed to a far country. Miners are militant, their views are confused and contradictory, but on the whole not too alarming. They are for the war. A high percentage of their sons are in it. Their daughters go away to work in defense plants. They are anxious to do their share, though they begrudge the operators their large profits. They are rather ashamed and apologetic about their four strikes last year, especially as they are still working under the Ickes memorandum and not their traditional contract. They are critical

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of the War Labor Board, but they are watching with great interest the efforts of the United Steelworkers of America in relation to wage stabilization. The recent Supreme Court decision upholding portal-to-portal pay for iron miners was won by the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union (CIO) aided by Philip Murray. This guarantees its inclusion in the final coal contract, when it is made. They no longer credit the victory to Lewis, in spite of his blustering demands for a flat forty dollars per miner as retroactive back pay (already approved by the War Labor Board) and an implied threat by a Lewis henchman, Mitch of Alabama, of "wild cat" strikes if payments are not made soon.

THE miners have confidence in President Roosevelt, and a friendly feeling towards the CIO. Some of them don't even know they are out of it. I saw a picture of Lewis and Murray together in a UMW hall in West Virginia. Their feelings towards Lewis are mixed. "He did get something for us," they say. But they have small faith in him personally. The lack of autonomy for the districts and of democracy in their union are sore spots. When the Communist Party some years back supported him as chairman of the CIO, the progressive miners were disturbed and dubious. Miners recall to me what they said four years ago when I visited their town. "Didn't I tell you—*maybe* he's all right now—but he'll be up to his old tricks!" It seems more normal to them now that we are attacking him as a defeatist and he is Red-baiting. The result is a revival of the Party among the miners. Their loyalty is to their union, with all its faults—of which they are acutely aware—not to Lewis, whom they do not even like. They heartily despise his scheming henchmen who control almost all districts. They are appointed and would never be elected, nor would Lewis, if there were real elections in the UMW. His iron grip is through the machine and the check-off system. Local union meetings are poorly attended. I heard of one place where dues are checked off and there is no local. The union halls are dismal, usually there are no war posters. The only modern note is President Roosevelt's picture.

My conversations with coal miners are like this, "Are the miners for President Roosevelt?" They answer eagerly, "Oh! yes!" So I ask, "Are they for Lewis?" "Well," they answer reluctantly, "yes—you know—on account of the union." (Lewis says he's looking for a single Communist miner. I'm looking for a working miner who is enthusiastic about him!) I persist: "How can they be for both, when Lewis attacks the President?" They look unhappy. "He didn't put us against Roosevelt last time, did he?" says one. "Oh! that's just strategy to get more," says another. When I point out the vicious anti-Roosevelt, anti-United Nations, anti-Soviet, anti-Semitic line of the *United Mine Workers Journal*, the replies are astounding. They tell you the miners don't read it. In West Virginia a Negro miner assured me they don't even take it out of the post office; they tell the postmaster to give it to the scrap drive. They estimate "maybe five percent read it" and argue it's dull and unintelligent, which is true. But I fear it confuses more miners than they like to admit. The prize answer came from a local union official who said soothingly to me, "Don't pay attention to that sheet—what do you read it for?" The Achilles' heel of Lewis is his opposition to the reelection of President Roosevelt. Once this is evident to the miners, they can be aroused politically. That's the job of the other unions.

Marcelle Pocher

In western Pennsylvania there are seven Congressmen who support the President. "Should one of them fail to return to Congress it will be a victory for the Roosevelt-haters and anti-victory gang in America," says the International Workers Order Action Bulletin. In the twenty-fourth district, Congressman Furlong of Donora has been refused the endorsement of the local Democratic Party and of Lewis' Labor's Non-Partisan League, of which L. J. Crawford of District 50, UMW, is president. Mayor Morgan of Frederickstown, a company doctor, is their choice, in spite of Furlong's endorsement by a host of miners' locals, steel lodges, fraternal societies, etc. The heavy hand behind the scene is undoubtedly that of Lewis. A local in Bentleyville wrote to Lewis for his opinion. He replied "Furlong is okay. There is nothing against him," and referred the letter to Crawford, who promised support to Furlong and made a last minute switch to Morgan, as did Yablonski, the district UMW head. The outcome may be a split in the Democratic forces and the election of a Republican. One miners' local, as they were meeting, heard the news of the League's action. They said, "It doesn't mean a darn thing. The miners will support Furlong just the same." Let's hope so. The double-cross of Furlong, whose excellent record includes a speech in Congress on Miners' Day last year on behalf of the miners' just demands, demonstrates that the UMW officialdom plans to penalize pro-Roosevelt Congressmen, if they can get away with it.

THE declaration of Teheran holds hope for a better future for the miners, and wherever we Communists reach them we are able to neutralize the defeatism of their leaders and the pessimism engendered by their isolation from other unions and their own hard lives. There is no group in America who needs postwar planning more than these soldiers of industry who daily risk their lives in the dark bowels of the earth, to furnish heat, light, and power. They need decent houses, with bathrooms and running water; schools, movies, hospitals, social centers, libraries; roads, stores; all the comforts enjoyed by city workers. Lewis has never concerned himself with housing, health, or social improvements. Earl Browder's *Teheran and America* and the Dean of Canterbury's *Secret of Soviet Power* are read avidly by miners. Miners of Slavic origin are sending aid to Tito and the Partisans. There is great admiration for the Red Army and they resent Lewis' slurs on Stalin. All this helps build our Party among them. The miners should be included in all local political action committees. The rest of the labor movement must go over Lewis' head directly to the miners to insure results in the elections.

A final word to NEW MASSES readers on some reports of oral sabotage I heard in western Pennsylvania which further substantiate John L. Spivak's splendid articles. For instance, an unknown woman calls a mother, "I just heard over the German short wave your son is a prisoner and wounded." Later the despairing mother receives a letter from her son that he is safe and well, never left England. A boy invalided home was visited by a "sympathetic" neighbor who said, "Look what Roosevelt did to you after he promised our boys wouldn't go across!" The father replied, "I'd rather he'd go over there than wait till they come over here and do to our people what they did in Europe." Rumor mongering about war bonds—"Better cash them now, they'll be no good later"—makes some people panicky here as elsewhere. But resistance is general to such fifth column propaganda.

Pittsburgh is an inspiring place to build the Communist Party. When I return to New York City I miss it and its litter of busy, restless grimy little towns for miles around. I like Pittsburgh's rhythmic motion and clatter—trains shifting, river barges paddling coal to steel plants, the crash and

(*Continued on page* 31)

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MICHIGAN POLITICAL TIDES

By TOBIAS SWIFT

Detroit.

MICHIGAN is the state where the weather is so changeable that they say of it: "If you don't like it, wait a minute." Superficially the political climate seems the same way. One minute it seems as if Nazi paratroops had already landed and taken over: here strut the KKK, Ford's henchmen, Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith, Clare Hoffman, the Polish emigres, the Trotsky-ite Third Party disrupters. Next minute it looks as if the curtain were just ringing up on unity and progress and a clear path to victory at the polls: the Kosciusko League, an organization of patriotic Polish-Americans opposed to the London government-in-exile, grows by leaps and bounds; AFL and CIO leaders bury the hatchet in a jovial testimonial banquet to R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, CIO; the state legislature suddenly opens its portals free to any popular candidates who can enter the election ring with clean hands; the Michigan convention of the Democratic Party unites around a fourth term for President Roosevelt.

The new development in regard to the state legislature means the opening up of such an opportunity for labor's political action workers that if they can wake up to it fast enough and launch a wide enough campaign, they can change the whole political complexion of Michigan. And it certainly needs changing! What started out as a nice little graft investigation in the state legislature has widened and widened until a round dozen of the people's representatives have been caught with bribe money sticking to their fingers. Pay-off men (lobbyists) for certain business interests squealed, and so many legislators have been up before the grand jury that they are "retiring from public life" in droves. They won't be in the elections. All labor has to do is get busy and fill this sixty-mile breakthrough with some win-the-war candidates.

Some replacements are badly needed too in Michigan's congressional delegation. Self-indicted before the bar of public opinion by their reactionary record are the Republican Congressmen Clare Hoffman, Roy Woodruff, Paul W. Shafer, Bartel Jonkman, Albert Engel, and Earl Michener. "We've got some of the best home-grown fascists in the country right here in Michigan," says August Scholle, state director of the CIO Political Action Committee, "and nobody can do anything about it unless we do something about it!"

What about unity? Within the CIO —and that's the biggest factor here, with a half million members in the UAW alone—it can be positively stated that real unity has been achieved on the *principles* of political action. That's a mighty impressive development in this faction-ridden district. But in *practice* many leaders are still slow in outgrowing the enervating habits of factional strife. A case in point is this phony "third party movement." Months ago at a statewide political action meeting in Lansing all responsible CIO leaders repudiated and denounced any propaganda for a third party "at this time" as divisive. Right after the meeting a bull session led by Trotsky-ites Mazey and Silvers dished out a slew of "third party" press releases. And in spite of a subsequent unanimous resolution by the UAW executive board "to discourage attempts at forming a third party *at this time*," these Trotskyites (UAW members) were allowed to go ahead with their build-up and actually to launch a nominal new party in Michigan. They have misled many civic liberals and some unionists, and they weren't slapped down because old factional loyalties tied the hands of leaders who, though they know such a move is divisive at this time, "have a soft spot in their hearts" (as one of them said) "for the idea of a third party—sometime."

The recent state convention of the Democratic Party, by its united endorsement of a fourth term for FDR, dealt a heavy blow to the "third party" putsch, as well as to the Republicans who had been counting on division in the Democratic ranks. This action had the full support of Michigan's biggest unions. Keynoter at the convention was Richard Frankensteen, UAW vice president, who in the course of an effective fourth-term speech declared: "The third party movement in labor's ranks does not have the support of the responsible heads of the CIO or UAW and will not have it." The presence at the convention of R. J. Thomas, George Addes, UAW secretary-treasurer, John Gibson, president of the Michigan CIO, and other labor leaders demonstrated the close ties between the most powerful section of the Michigan labor movement and the Democratic Party in the campaign to nominate and reelect the President. At a meeting the night before the convention, addressed by Robert E. Hannigan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, both CIO and AFL leaders participated. However, joint political action between the two wings of organized labor has not yet been achieved.

Maxwell Gordon

WHEN it comes to candidates for Congress, for governor, and for the state legislature, the experience of recent years has shown that candidates who merely represent labor in a limited sense cannot be elected. The key to this problem lies in the mobilization to the widest extent of the ninety percent of the population who are already in the win-the-war camp in sympathies; it lies in the fullest farmer-labor-consumer cooperation immediately on broad specific issues such as support for subsidies and price control. Indeed, a promising beginning has already been made along these lines.

Under the wide sponsorship of the Victory Food Committee and church, farm, labor, civic, and small business leaders, simultaneous community meetings have been held in most of the state's eighty-three counties on the subsidy issue. As the election campaign develops, these forces should be able to bring forward suitable candidates, both Democratic and Republican, depending in each case on the composition of the particular community.

For instance, Michigan's most blatant congressional pro-fascist, Rep. Clare Hoffman, is in a district (Fourth) where a Democrat doesn't have the remotest chance of election. The merchant capitalist farmers of this orchard and vineyard country are prosperous and very conservative. But this doesn't mean that they are disloyal or defeatist. There are signs that many of Hoffman's constituents are weary of their little Hitler; the parents of fighting men blame Hoffman for prolonging the war by his obstructionist antics. An indigenous campaign behind a Republican candidate

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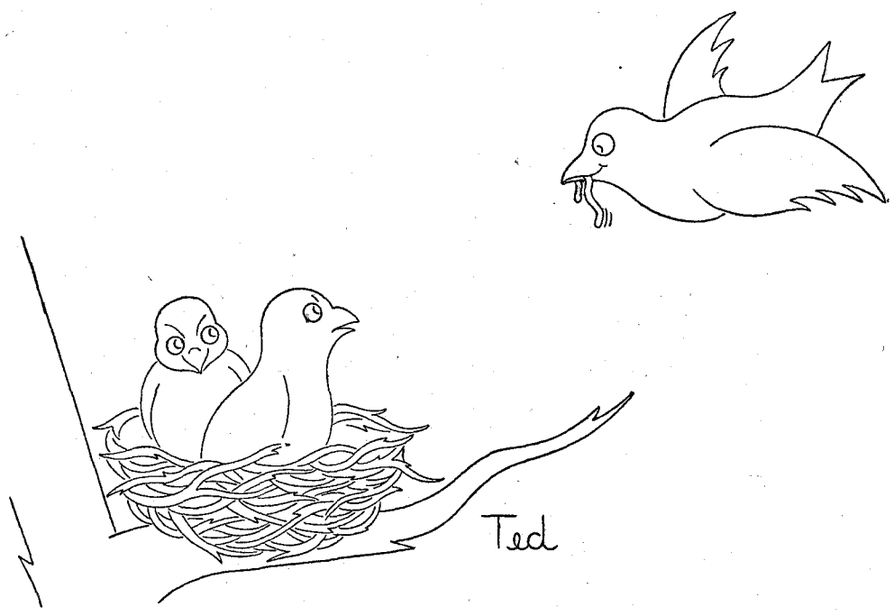
who gives full support to the war can unseat Hoffman.

In such rural communities the CIO's State, County, and Municipal Workers hold a strategic position. Already active in the movements to support price control and win the vote for the soldiers, the SCMWA is organized in seventy-nine counties, in many of which it is the only union present. Its members are state and county highway workers, supervisors, justices of the peace, school board members, Parent-Teachers Association leaders. On local economic issues they have been in politics for years. Before prohibitive legislation was enacted some were in the Democratic machine. Many are leading Republicans.

Important, though small, farm organizations that are active in the Victory Food Committee and capable of working more closely with labor for the elections are the Michigan Farmers Union, now conducting an intensive organizing and educational drive, and the Farm Mobilization Committee. This is a group of substantial farmers first formed to support Roosevelt in 1940—a group of scientific, progressive upper-bracket farmers who might be called the "Friends of Henry A. Wallace."

What about urban Michigan, what about the Greater Detroit industrial area, center of population and organization? Five congressmen and twenty-three state representatives are elected from this crucial area. Here the vote is Democratic and the primaries will tell the tale. Detroit's mayoralty race last November affords a preview of the factors for success or failure. In a half-hearted way the CIO went over to the offensive in this campaign. It stepped unashamedly into city politics and spent a tidy sum on campaign publicity. It brought out for the first time in Detroit a sizable Negro vote, which was thoroughly progressive. The labor-backed candidate, Fitzgerald, won the primaries by a landslide. Then labor leaders went off deer hunting; the candidate forgot to mention the war and began hedging on major issues. He lost the election. Lessons: (1) Labor must campaign on a vigorous, win-the-war, pro-Roosevelt program. (2) The minority groups cast an overwhelmingly progressive vote, but only if mobilized. (3) Political action means steady and thorough ward and precinct work. (4) And last, but not least, narrow support of a candidate as "labor's choice" only isolates labor and allows the reactionary press to whoop up a campaign against "labor dictatorship."

Greater Detroit's minority group votes can have a critical bearing on how Michigan goes. For the "minorities" of this industrial area, taken together, constitute the majority of the population. In the election last November the Negro voters came to the fore as the most progressive section of the electorate. Districts of predominantly Negro population went as high as fourteen to one for Fitzgerald. This was partly a rebuff to the Negro-baiting of District Attorney Dowling after the anti-Negro outbreaks last year, but it was also a good deal more. Anyone who has contact with the Negro neighborhoods soon learns that victory in the war and Roosevelt and the Teheran declaration are hot with meaning there. In the Communist Party's recruiting drive, now in progress, Negroes have been joining in hundreds—and they know why. Wendell Willkie's elimination as a presidential contender is also clarifying a potential source of confusion, since Willkie had won considerable prestige as a champion of Negro rights. With Willkie out, the sentiment for Roosevelt is stronger than ever.



"Look, pop's bringing home Martin Dies! I hope that's not our lunch."

There are also a minimum of 100,000 Polish votes in the Detroit area, 25,000 Italian votes, 10,000 Hungarian votes, and sizable numbers of Jewish, Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Czechoslovakian and the other minority group votes. In last November's city election the Polish vote, because of a steady campaign, proved to be next best to the Negro vote. In contrast, the Jewish vote was captured by Negro-baiting, anti-labor Mayor Edward Jeffries because very little activity was carried on among the Jewish people by the progressive forces.

TODAY the Polish vote is under terrific fire from the heavy artillery of national and international fascists. Polish emigres are blasting away through four daily radio programs in Detroit, and through the only Polish daily newspaper here, the *Polish Daily News*, which "influences 360,000 citizens daily," as current billboards proudly announce. This sheet, formerly subsidized by the Beck regime of Poland, is now owned by Januszewski, a member of the state GOP committee. Colonel Matuszewsky, former finance minister in the old Polish government, runs an open Polish fascist organization, known as the National Committee of Americans of Polish Descent. Behind the scenes operate the Polish consul and hundreds of agents. Under this daily barrage of reactionary attack, the Polish community, in turmoil on the surface, so far retains its somewhat intuitive faith in FDR and in labor unions. Its clerical and civic leaders are mostly silent and afraid, but the community will probably go along with the position the unions take: it remains for the unions to hit out on this "Polish" question unmistakably. A good sign is the renewed sponsorship by the UAW-CIO of the weekly Polish-English radio hour, "Labor's Ray of Truth," originally founded by the union four years ago in the busy days of the Polish Trade Union Committee, but more recently independent.

The other large minority groups can be rallied behind a victory slate too, but getting out the winning vote in time for the June primaries calls for rapid and permanent changes in Michigan labor's political atmosphere. Attention must be shifted away from the clouds of talk, however rosy, and the spring plowing must begin.

Fortunately, there are signs that Michigan workers can read the almanac: membership lists are being broken down into ward and precinct lists; volunteers for precinct captains are pressing forward; a greater stirring among the rank-and-file of union workers is beginning to get things done. And as for the political action committeemen, there are indications that they are gradually overcoming their shyness and hesitancy and coming to realize that selection of candidates must not be left to Democratic politicians alone, that labor must make itself felt in the choice of candidates and in every phase of activity.

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NO NEED FOR CASSANDRA

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

IT HAS become the fashion in Washington among many liberals to talk about the postwar world to the exclusion of all else and only in terms of deepest gloom and pessimism. They stoutly refuse to see any joy ahead, or anything save disaster, depression, and doom. Because they knew one depression they remain faithfully bound to it; they will not permit themselves the disloyalty of thinking of postwar life without a depression. The extreme of this depression nostalgia was expressed by one Washington "expert" who, talking to a labor economist about the chances of wiping out monopolies after the war, said dreamily, "What we need to do that, of course, is another major depression."

Of course there is the small minority who regard the postwar world with real alarm precisely because it will not exclude the Soviet Union. But the majority of the postwar mourners I allude to are not Red-baiters. On the contrary they say in cadences of gloom, that at least the Soviet Union will be at the peace table. They sigh and declare that that is one ray of light. Perhaps they are afflicted with a heritage of bleakness from our Puritan forebears, I don't know. Perhaps they suffer simply from an inability to alter their focus, to change encrusted habits of thinking.

It never seems to occur to them that the fact of collaboration with our Allies is not going to end with the peace table. And as Robert Minor has pointed out, "the coalition is strong and is capable of long life not 'in spite of' but *because* of the difference of social composition of the great countries that compose it."

This very fact is of necessity going to have its effect in the postwar world, is going to foster many forward steps. The people who are beating their breasts in fear of another imperialistic race after markets might as well ease up a bit. That does not mean that there are not sections of big business both here and in England who would embark on an imperialist course if they could. But the most important segment of big business, that which is aggressively committed to winning the war, is two jumps ahead of them. They are aware that the United States will have to have two or three times the *proportion* of foreign trade to the rest of its national income that it had before the war, if we are going to have full employment and full production. They are aware, too, that the USSR is going to play a big part in world trade, something she never did before. They know that the Soviet Union is the strongest element for stability in the European and Asiatic world. They do not conceive of a world market run exclusively for the benefit of England and the United States. They are quite aware that they must join forces with the Socialist USSR, Britain, and China, and collaborate over a long period of time in *economic collective security*.

This does not make them cringe, to judge from recent remarks of President Eric Johnston of the US Chamber of Commerce, who saw the conferences at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran as "a solid foundation of global peace, a basis for the greater exchange of goods and services with the rest of the world." "It will mean," he went on, "that backward countries can industrialize themselves and raise their standard of living. . . . It will mean that business can invest in long-term commitments abroad with the hope of the return of the principal and interest involved. It will mean throughout the world millions of jobs for men and women who would not be employed otherwise. This is one of the methods of solving the problem of postwar employment." He saw the corollary at home in the need for unity and peace among management, labor, agriculture, and government, and went on to say: "It means that management must recognize that labor unions are here to stay, that management must recognize that higher wages are desirable, providing they are balanced by higher levels of production. . . ." I might add that these opinions on unions and wages are not reflected in the little booklets on postwar suggestions brought out by the Chamber of Commerce last year. But they do reflect the thought of enlightened business.

PLANS for the United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Agency (UNRRA) had been kicking around for about a year without getting anywhere when the Moscow Conference was held. It was only after this, when the United Nations embarked upon real collaboration, that UNRRA took shape.

Now, in addition to the military collaboration, which will reach fruition with the invasion of western Europe, we see the first tangible social-economic result of the Teheran agreements, in the monetary conference. Monetary experts of thirty-four nations have got together on a plan for an international stabilization fund to maintain exchange stability and correct maladjustments in their balance of payments. It is an attempt to develop collective security financially. If their recommendations are accepted and ratified by their various governments and approved by our Congress they will have wide political significance. Discussions of world currency stabilization, begun in an exploratory way, will be continued at another conference. Significantly, before the agreement was reached the plans were discussed with bankers, labor representatives, and other interested groups, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau said in announcing the results.

The conference started out with two plans to sink its teeth into—Lord Keynes' informal proposals, and those of Harry White, Treasury economist. The British wanted to make the basis of getting together on the part of the nations hinge on pre-war foreign trade. In this case participation in the fund would have been in proportion to a nation's relative share of the world trade, and would have given Britain control. The United States argued that the basis should be a nation's gold holdings. We should equate each nation to gold, the common denominator, and then equate each to the other; participation in the fund would be in terms of such relations. Oddly enough, this would have given the United States the whip hand. The Soviet Union's proposals were similar to those of the United States. Under the Keynes' plan the USSR would have been left in a worse position than the United States, as the percentage of its national economy devoted to foreign trade before the war was even smaller than ours. Moreover, the Soviet Union, while not a gold-holding country, is a gold-producing country. This factor is not important, however, as the aim of the international group is to get away from competition in gold production and to limit actual gold shipments to infinitesimal amounts, probably less than under the traditional gold standard. According to plan, most transactions would be settled by exchange of goods.

The important thing is that a compromise was worked out. It leans toward the gold standard far more than the Keynes' plan, but departs from both plans in particulars. A main feature is its provision that any of the top four nations will have veto powers. This prevents any one of the thirty-four nations controlling the scene.

THE international stabilization fund, which would function not as a postwar measure, but for a long-term peace period, would attempt to prevent the bad effects of temporarily expanded indebtedness on the part of a country which was shipping out less than it was taking in. When such an unfavorable balance of trade occurs it may be due to some internal economic deterioration which is only temporary. The country's exchange reflects it, however. The lira, or whatever it is,

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shrinks in value. But this in turn actively affects the country's trade. It can get less of the things it needs to import. The people do without, or with less. The spiral of deterioration has set in. The result is a worsened condition not only for that country but for all world trade.

Now along comes the fund to help that country through a short, tough period. It is the reverse of economic isolationism. It recognizes that if international trade declines, all lose. It is as if a group of neighbors had a loan fund. They keep a wary eye on each partner's state of affairs, even taking an acute interest in how good a manager his wife is and whether she sets a good table, and the collective eye even wanders occasionally to her garbage can to see how much she throws away. A neighbor gets in debt. They reason that he is not a crook, that he is a solid citizen. It just happens Junior had to have his tonsils out and a new baby was coming, just when he lost his job. He needs help and they give it. But the second or third time he goes in debt they are far more critical.

The fund likewise will cover a member's net indebtedness and supports its exchange on any market. It will prevent a couple of nations getting together and exploiting the currency of another. It's as if you were in a jam and instead of going to the loan sharks and getting rooked you could say, "I have a note here signed by J. P. Morgan." Any bank would give you credit and the vice president would even be a little respectful while doing it. *But* if it is discovered that a nation which goes to the well too often is erecting tariff walls to favor its own industries, or pouring materials and manpower into secret armaments, or is engaging in non-economic industry, that disrupts collective security. When this happens, there are sanctions to be applied. But the principal effect will come from the others telling the disrupter nation to go its way alone, with their collective damnation. (After all, the military aspect of collective security is its last phase.)

As the fund will make reports to Congress, no nation can be a heavy and continuous borrower without its being known. But it is to be hoped that we don't begin by watching operations daily. Some national economies are pretty badly shattered now; those nations concerned will have to have a chance to get started.

The fund and the proposed World Bank for Reconstruction and Development are important politically. They will spell unity. By a common consideration of common economic problems the thirty-four nations are nearing solution of one of the headaches heretofore complicating international trade. But it is only one of them. Other problems, too, will have to be solved—and call for the same approach.

PRIOR to the war our total foreign trade amounted to only three or four percent, at peak time five percent, of our national income. We prided ourselves on being almost self-sufficient. With almost ninety-eight percent of our economy we were taking in each other's washing, which makes for political isolationism. It was a nice, cozy business and made it easy to say "To hell with 'em" whenever other nations' affairs were projected. That is why when Roosevelt called for quarantining the aggressor nations, back in 1937, his call echoed in a silent void. We do not want unplanned conversion back to the kind of industry we had before the war, *nationalist* industry. Besides, our industrial facilities have expanded too greatly. Even with much higher standards of living at home, we could not consume enough to insure full production, full employment. With expanded home and foreign consumption, though, we have a chance to build a sound international political organization for world security. Certainly we're not going to build one on humanitarian impulses alone. It must have an economic base.

WHAT besides stabilizing exchange can collective action do to make possible the increased foreign trade which all nations require to go forward internally? It can make certain agreements as to raw materials which are unique in any one country or few countries—those natural monopolies, for instance, which facilitated the growth of the quinine cartel controlling production in the Dutch Indies, the British controlled rubber cartel in Malaya, and the tin cartel. But it is conceivable that international conferences of industry, government, and labor spokesmen from all the producing countries *and the consuming* countries can agree on certain things regarding production of given raw materials. These might be: (1) That production would not be deliberately restricted below a certain standard of *need*. (2) That whatever was under consideration be sold in lots of a certain size, or perhaps even at a certain price. (3) That no country be permitted to discriminate among competitive buyers. The last is *the* crucial point.

Such conferences also might be held profitably on such all-important items as communications and airplanes and shipping. The trade agreements which will be made (the State Department has inaugurated a series of conferences on postwar trade) will embrace no division of territory. There will be none of that business of one big power saying to another, "You take the East Indies and exploit there, and I'll take this corner over here." Our government, through the Attorney General, already has given warning it will not go for any sort of international octopus as that spawned by the Nazis in the I. G. Farbenindustrie. It is hardly hazardous to presume the Soviet Union agrees.

Why can we be sure that industry in this country will consent to sit down at the international conference table on postwar trade and with the government not only displaying interest but exerting "interference"? Because industry of other countries will. England, whose government can't be accused of a trust-busting mentality, for instance. And our industrialists, and theirs, will be dealing with the government of the Soviet Union, not individual firms or industries. Is the Jones Machine Co. of Ohio going to bid against the entire machine industry of England for Soviet patronage? Maybe it's not that confident of its machines or its salesmanship. Maybe it would prefer that spokesmen representing, say, all the big companies here, and others speaking for all the small machine companies, both protected by government spokesmen, enter the bargaining together. The Jones men could not promise that if their machines were bought they'd make a little better deal on some fabricated steel, or some turbines needed in Uzbekistan; but their government could.

Exports mean imports—not just gold to bury in the ground. We need strategic materials (a bill—inadequate, it's true—is pending on stockpiles) and oil. But in the future there may even be agreements to encourage regional specialization. New techniques developed in the war may interfere with old specializations, too. England gets all her beef from the Argentine with only four days allowed for killing and packing and unloading cattle over and beyond sailing time. Any additional time endangers the meat. But our refrigeration techniques applied to Australian beef would allow plenty of time for its longer passage to England. If in this country we imported timber for pulp and saved our resources, we could use that highly skilled labor in producing eggs and meat and milk. We could let the bulk of our grains be grown abroad (in time) where land was rich and labor had not acquired our skills and standards. At home we could consume twice the milk we do. As we now have an important dehydrating industry, the pint a day for every child is no longer just a dream of Henry Wallace's. And highly improved techniques developed for lend-lease now enable the Hottentot, so roundly denounced with Mr. Wallace, to run the powdered milk through a little machine the size of an ice-cream freezer. The product would fool any calf.

No one is going to be handed prosperity and full employment on a silver platter after the war. But neither should we allow the prophets of doom to sell the American people a bill of goods about the hopelessness of the world to come. History has supplied the ingredients for attaining not only a surcease from blood and human agony and deprivation, which we in this country have not yet known, but a positive unfolding of a world economy based in part on the needs of various countries. The ingredients are there. But they have to be mixed consciously, and they can be, if the human will is applied.

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SON OF POLAND

By EVE GROT

THE letter came back today. I weighed the envelope in my hands; it looked shabby and a little worn out from the long journey. The stamp on its back said: "Addressee cannot be found." The words had a familiar sound.

In 1935 the letter from the concentration camp came back this way.

In 1938 the letter from Prague came back just like that.

I keep wondering where you are now, just as I did all those times, marked by all those returned letters, and now, just as in the times before this one, I can't find the answer. I don't know whether it's wise even to think about you, because when I do, I have to give way to the old fear and the old uncertainty. We thought you were safe at last, we thought the adventure of your twenty-eight years had finally come to a close, we thought you had found a place in which to rest.

I said goodbye to you six years ago and it seems as if it were only yesterday. I've become a young woman since then; you—a weary fighter for the rights of man. I've wanted to talk to you a thousand times during all those years, I wanted you to help me destroy thousands of doubts. I needed your many years of fighting but I couldn't reach you, and so I grew up all by myself. And I haven't done an awfully good job of it, I'm afraid. I don't even know whether you would give me your approval. Because all I could say to you now, if you could hear me, would be: Janek, I'm not sure where I am, and I'm not sure where I am going, and there is just one thing that I *am* certain of: I will never give up our ideals for the peaceful fireplace and self-satisfied existence of the middle class. That much I can promise you, but only that much.

Six years ago you walked out of the house with two policemen at your side, your tall figure towering above them; you turned around to look at me, smiled, and never came back. I had seen you go so many times before that I could even hold back the tears. So that "they" wouldn't see one of us broken, I raised my fist and with all the power of a little girl's heart, I promised never to forget that day. The door closed with an ominous sound. It was closing on our whole past, only we didn't know it—none of us, Mother, Dad, or I. My mother's little brother had left for good. Our world was slipping from our fingers, the thunder of invading armies was sounding its first alarm on our doorstep, but we were deaf and blind.

Janek was always the kind of a boy who "would give you the shirt off his back." He was constantly broke, and constantly in trouble with his elders. He was well liked by young people, and usually got unexpected favors from all of them.

Janek liked our house better than he did his own, and would go to grandfather's only to sleep or pick up some of his books. When I was little, he used to spend most of his time with me. When I grew up and could really appreciate him, he wasn't there any longer.

I ALWAYS associate Janek with wonderful times, funny stories, loving songs, and furry animals. It was he who brought me my first dog and taught me to love him. It was he who picked up a homeless little cat and brought him home.

He scolded me for pulling the cat's tail, and he taught me the little game of tolerance. I can still see him on winter nights in front of the fire, his long legs stretched before him, the dog on one side, the cat on the other, both watching him with loving eyes; I can hear his voice as he told me tall tales of imaginary adventures or funny stories I adored. I could never imagine his going away from that fire, and leaving us behind—the dog, the cat, and me.

The first time I missed his cheerful voice and jokes, I asked Mother why he didn't come, and just then noticed that she had been crying. Janek was supposed to take his final examination in the Gymnasium three weeks from that day, and I knew he had to study, but why didn't he come anyway? She took my hand, and said: "Darling, Janek's been arrested, I don't think he will have to take his exam now." It was so difficult to understand. How could anyone arrest a boy who went around picking up homeless dogs and cats, who gave the last cent of his allowance to old janitor Peter, who let his little niece walk all over him, who was always there when you needed him? Couldn't they see they were making a terrible mistake?

Finally Daddy explained it all to me. Janek wanted everyone to have an equal chance. It seemed that he wanted the world to give Peter and others like him enough work and enough food. Daddy himself believed in the same thing. But Janek wanted the change to come as soon as possible, so he joined the Communist Party, which in our country was illegal. He was caught and put in prison.

Shortly afterwards Janek was released, took his final exam, and grandfather, already worried, sent him to the University of Cracow, where his other son was teaching. That was our first goodbye. No more evenings in front of the fire, no more stories, no more songs. I would talk to my animals about him, they understood; and we would all wait patiently for Christmas and summer vacations when our long-legged boy would come back with hundreds of new stories and new games.

One early morning Daddy woke me up and said that Janek was brought home from college by the police the night before. He said he knew I was a brave little girl and wouldn't tell Mother until he found out what it was all about. I didn't tell Mother. I said to my dog, and to Kiza, the cat, that after all, we could take it better than she would, and even if we loved him we could stand a little worry and a little pain.

It all turned out to be one big worry and one great pain. I can still remember waiting for the trial to end, the dragging hours, the final blow. Mother staggered under it, grandfather added many a gray hair because of it, I couldn't even cry. Five years' imprisonment for Communist activity at the university.

I WENT to see him in prison and brought him chocolate. He was peaceful and full of joy as he had always been; he never let us see how he really felt. Only when we had said goodbye and turned to the gate, I glanced over my shoulder—the prison guard was showing him the way back—and there was such a look of longing and utter sadness in his eyes that I could hardly keep from crying out loud: "Let him out, will you! Let him out!"

In a few weeks he was sent to one of the most notorious prisons in the country, almost a thousand kilometers from home. I couldn't visit him any longer.

We wrote to him often. He always asked for books, more and more books, more and more newspapers and magazines. And whenever a prisoner came out of the stone walls, we would get a long letter, uncensored and painstakingly printed on large, thin sheets of paper, delivered to us at great risk by the departing prisoner, and giving us the real truth about Janek's life there. He was able to organize all the political prisoners into a strong group, they had means of communication, they studied together, and together they waited.

After two and a half years an amnesty for political prisoners was declared, and Janek came home. He was still very young and he was still the same. The prison cell hadn't broken his integrity, it hadn't taken away any of his dignity, his ideals, his charm. But he came back very sick, with tubercular lungs, and not very much time to live.

We sent Janek to the white mountains of Poland, to the fresh icy air, to help cure his bleeding lungs—we had to smile and

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wave him goodbye once more. And when he came back in the spring he was better, and could even give me a whole lecture on being too much under Dad's influence, and he even succeeded in winning me over to his side. I told Dad with a somewhat guilty expression that his philosophy was all wrong—that it was outdated.

The police came just before the first of May and took him. It had become a habit for them to arrest Janek, and he was the first person on the lists of their yearly spring arrests. He was taken to one of the overcrowded prisons of Lvov and we lost track of him completely. Then a rumor spread. Someone said that Janek was in the newly formed concentration camp at Bereza Kartuska, one of the most dreadful places in Europe. The letter we wrote came back, but two months later a little postcard in Janek's handwriting came in the morning's mail, stamped, "Bereza Kartuska Isolation Camp" on the side.

One day a prisoner returned home. An old friend of Janek's, he came back a changed man, with a broken body and unstable mind. And from him we learned of a little slip of paper which was offered to all the prisoners at the camp; if they would sign it, they would be set free. It didn't say much, it just took away all one's rights as a human being, his right to do as he pleased, his right to think and believe as he saw fit. "I swear that I will never engage in any political activity, I swear that I will report my every step to the police, I swear. . . ." I swear my life away.

"The boy hasn't any sense," his friend told us. "Me? I jumped at the opportunity and signed it, but your boy, he just refused point blank." He couldn't have signed that slip of paper, I said—can't you understand?

IN THE evening of a February day, the doorbell rang, and my dog ran to the door, furiously wagging his tail. He waited impatiently for me with dancing eyes. "What are you making a fool of yourself for?" said I. "You know you're the meanest dog in this town, and you don't give a hoot for any of my friends." But he knew better. Because I had opened the door to a tall, familiar figure in a long trench coat, and somebody's long arms were about me before I could speak. The dog was crying with joy. I couldn't say a word. Janek was back, and I couldn't believe it.

We were so happy to have him back. We asked no questions, but we got our answer soon. The boy was still our Janek. But there wasn't as much of a boy left in him as there was of a man who had seen suffering, and lots of it. He would talk to me for long hours about the men who stayed behind. After a while I got a complete picture of the concentration camp, and tried to remember it, even if it hurt. I shall remember it so long as there is any life left in my body, I shall remember the tortures, the blood, the murder of that camp. I have since heard the stories of Dachau; in America I have seen many American films about Germany, I have read many books about fascism. And I couldn't even be horrified because the stories I heard from Janek were a thousand times worse, and a thousand times more true. They have, in a way, made me unable to feel any great anger or pain over the German cruelties. After all, Germany confessed fascism—Poland made a pretense at democracy.

His education was over. No university would accept a boy with Janek's kind of a past, no one would give him a job. He used to pace up and down my room, his long legs covering almost half of its length at a step, a frown on his forehead, silent — for hours. I would try to talk to him, but I knew what bothered my friend, and I also knew that I could not help him. Janek went away before the spring. The police were looking for victims, and he had become such a habit with them that, active or not, he would be suspected and jailed.

Grandfather couldn't take it. He died of heart failure on Easter Day. Both his sons came to the funeral—the university professor, a famous man, and the boy with a broken life and shining eyes. The boy seemed very moved, and at the cemetery told Dad and me that he would be home a little later; besides, he thought the police were already looking for him.

They were. They were waiting for him at our house when we came back. The commandant himself, three secret policemen, and two in uniform had all come for our dangerous criminal. But we came back without Janek, and so they left. The doorbell rang soon afterwards, and our hunted boy came in, breathless. Mother gave him some dinner, his professor brother, Dad, and I watched him silently, his curly head bent over the hot plate of soup, his lips set firmly in a narrow line. And just as silently we waited for the inevitable. It came. The doorbell again. The loud shuffling of feet. Again they took him away.

It was raining hard that night, I can still remember it. The telephone rang; it was the commandant, and would we please pack up some things for young Mr. K.? I put down the receiver with shaking hands. Janek was taking a trip again.

Dad went over to the police station to talk to him. And Janek had said: "They're sending me back to the concentration camp. It's easier than putting me on trial here—they don't have to prove anything. And this time, I am *not* coming back." Dad came home soon afterwards. Mother packed a bag. We didn't speak. And suddenly, the doorbell rang again. We were so used to doorbells that bring bad news and secret policemen by then, that we weren't even startled out of our silence. I went to the door and saw before me two breathless boys, old friends of mine, who whispered: "Janek escaped from the police station a few minutes ago!"—and they disappeared.

They were out looking for him far into the night. I could picture him, running through that violent rain, coatless, feverish, and haunted. I fell asleep crying.

We heard from him a few days later. The good people of a neighboring village sheltered him and shared their food with him. Then Mother went to a border town, a friend drove Janek there in his car (all that at a risk of ten to fifteen years of imprisonment for helping an escaped prisoner), an experienced guide took him over the "green border" in spite of heavy guards, and he was in free Czechoslovakia.

And Czechoslovakia gave him what his own country had refused. It gave him political freedom and a chance to study. But the great clouds were already gathering over Europe, and before long German troops occupied Czechoslovakia and the letter we wrote to Janek came back, unanswered and unopened. Strangely enough, Janek was back with us in Poland, only we didn't know it, and neither did the police. Poland, ironically, was the only avenue of escape from Hitler. On a little fisherman's boat he and a few others undertook the dangerous journey through the Baltic sea to England.

JANEK used to write his most beautiful letters from England. He told us about the fall of Czechoslovakia, and he told us how well the British treated Czech refugees, because they were already beginning to be ashamed of Munich. And after Poland fell, he told us of the old bureaucracy prevailing in the offices of the government-in-exile, of the fat gentlemen sitting behind the desks, of their old narrowness, inefficiency, and the familiar red tape. His lungs were bothering him again, the long flight in the rain had left its scars. But he could not stand inactivity for long, and he took a job in one of the defense factories, a job as a carrier, the hardest of its kind, but the only one offered to a foreigner. In the midst of it all he managed to marry a young Russian doctor whom he had met in Prague, several months before.

The last I heard he was going to join the army to fight for what he believed in for so long, though with his tubercular lungs I don't know how they would have accepted him. He said to me in his last letter: "The increased efforts of those who want to break us should fill you with new hope. They simply mean that we are growing stronger."

I have not heard from him since that letter. My own was returned. But I believe in the day that will announce the Allied victory, the day that will bring Janek back to us in a free and independent people's Poland.

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MARX AND DARWIN

By K. A. TIMIRYAZEV

May 5 is the one hundred and twenty-sixth anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx. On this occasion we are publishing in slightly abridged form an article on Darwin and Marx written in 1919 by the late K. A. Timiryazev, famous Russian botanist and physiologist. Of the notes that accompany this article only the first is the author's own.—The Editors.

THE year 1919 is not only the "diamond jubilee" year of the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. It is even more important to remember that Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* also first saw the light in 1859, sixty years ago.[1] This is not a fortuitous coincidence. Although the *Origin of Species* and the *Critique of Political Economy* are concerned with such widely differing spheres of human thought, we can detect in the two books certain common characteristics which justify us in comparing them, though only in a brief sketch. The last page of Darwin's book, and the remarkable and brilliant fifth page of the preface to Marx's, contain amazingly clear and concise summaries of the respective authors' fundamental ideas. Now, just as Darwin's fundamental idea, as expounded in the *Origin of Species*, was the crown of the previous twenty-five years and more of the great biologist's activities, so Marx's fundamental idea, as expounded in the preface to the *Critique*, was for the great sociologist "a guiding thread" (I use his own expression) for a quarter of a century thereafter, and until he was snatched away by death while his mental powers were still unimpaired. I propose, therefore, to consider the parallelism between these two works, which have left so deep a trace in the history of the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century—and will, of course, continue to leave their trace in ages yet to come.

It was said of Darwin that he was "the greatest revolutionist in modern science, and, indeed, in the science of all ages"; that "from his peaceful workroom at Down he guided the thoughts of all reflective persons into a movement which is almost unexampled in the history of the world." Compare with this the other revolutionary movement, the one that started from Marx's little room in Dean Street, Soho, the movement that has modified people's "existence" as well as their "consciousness"—this, too, has been a movement without parallel in history.

In what consists the general similarity of trend of these two revolutionary movements, both initiated in the year 1859? In this, that both of them, each dealing with a vast assemblage of phenomena (in one case the phenomena of organic life, and in the other the phenomena of the social life of mankind) which theology and metaphysics have hitherto claimed as their own, withdraw these phenomena from theological and metaphysical jurisdiction, and explain them as the outcome of "material changes . . . which can be watched and recorded with all the precision proper to natural science" (quoted from the preface to the *Critique of Political Economy*).

DARWIN, doubting the validity of the biblical explanation of the origin of the forms of organic life, and disregarding the requirement that science must conform to the teaching of the Bible, rejected scriptural theology and metaphysics, and found the real explanation of the origin of species in the "material conditions" of their genesis. In like manner Marx, having (as he himself tells us) begun to doubt the validity of Hegel's philosophy of law, went on to take as his "guiding thread," for all his subsequent researches, the inference that sociological forms and relationships are not self-existent, nor yet existences determined by the activities of the human mind, but are the outcome of the material conditions of life. Both these doctrines work along the general lines of the quest for a primary explanation that shall be rooted in scientifically demonstrable material phenomena. Marx indicated this by speaking of his whole scientific trend as "economic materialism," or the "economic interpretation of history."[2] The mode of production of material life forms the "real basis" upon which are erected "as a superstructure" all the "legal, political, religious, artistic, or philosophical forms (in a word, the ideological forms)" of human life. But "at a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing productive relationships," and these latter, "which have previously been developmental forms of the productive forces, now become metamorphosed into fetters upon production. A period of social revolutions then begins. Concomitantly with the change in the economic foundation, the whole gigantic superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed." I continue these quotations from Marx's classical aphorisms down to and including his use of the word "revolution," for the reason that the dispute about the relationship of his teaching to Darwin's turns most often around this word. We are told that Darwinism is a theory of evolution, and that evolution is the antithesis of revolution. It is true that the word "revolution" is not to be met with in Darwin's writings, but that was because it would have called up recent memories of Cuvier's *Discours sur les révolutions du globe*. In geology, Cuvier belonged to the "catastrophic school." He believed that, in the course of the earth's geological history, there had been frequent cataclysms, quick changes of scenery like those that take place in a theater, whereby whole populations of living creatures had been destroyed and new ones brought into being. On the other hand George Howard Darwin (a noted astronomer, and the only one of Charles Darwin's five sons to inherit a considerable share of the father's genius) notes that

[1] To my shame I must admit that it was not until after 1909 that I first became acquainted with the contents of Marx's preface to the *Critique of Political Economy*, through reading an article by V. I. Ilyin (Lenin) in Vol. XVIII of the Brothers Granat's Encyclopædia. But I can console myself by remembering that I must have been one of the very first persons in Russia to read *Capital*. This was very long ago, before Vladimir Ilich was born, and when Plekhanov (whom many Russian Marxists regard as Lenin's teacher), was only ten years old. In the autumn of 1867 I removed from Simbirsk (where I had been engaged in chemical researches on the lines laid down by Mendeleyev) to join P. A. Ilyenkov in the newly opened Petrovsk Academy. I found Ilyenkov sitting at his writing table in his library. In front of him was a new book, a thick volume in German with the paper-knife still amid its pages. It was the first volume of *Capital;* and at this date, in the close of the year 1867, very few more copies than this could as yet have found their way into Russia. Then and there, Ilyenkov, rapturously and with characteristic ability, gave me a whole lecture on as much of the book as he had already been able to read. He had seen Marx at work, for he had spent the year 1848 in western Europe (chiefly in Paris); also he had personal knowledge of the doings of the sugar-refiners who were among the pioneers of Russian capitalism, and was thus able to illustrate Marx's doctrines by examples drawn from his own experience. In this way it came to pass that the professor of chemistry in the recently opened Petrovsk Academy was one of the first persons to diffuse Marxist ideas in Russia.

[2] This is not entirely accurate. Marx and Engels described their approach as historical materialism or the materialist interpretation of history. While they emphasized that the mode of production and exchange determined the general character of all social, political, and intellectual phenomena, they also pointed out that these phenomena in turn affect the economic system. The founders of scientific socialism criticized those who sought to reduce historic development to a mere mechanical reflection of economic factors.

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there is a homological connection, and not a mere rhetorical analogy, between revolution in the domain of political phenomena and revolution in the domain of cosmic and purely mechanical phenomena.

In their explanations of the world, both Darwin and Marx started from an objective study of the present; but whereas Darwin was chiefly concerned with throwing light on the obscure past of organic life, Marx's main desire was to foretell the future and to disclose the "trends" of the present. Nay more, Marx did not merely wish to foretell the future; he wanted to act upon it. To quote his own words: "Philosophers have been busied in trying to *explain* the world, each after his own fashion. But the real question is, How are we to *change* it?"

Here, however, a reservation is needed. We must point out that Darwin, by giving, not "his" philosophical explanation, but an explanation grounded upon the scientific study of the facts, compelled biologists to turn their attention to the process of creating new organic forms (artificial selection), which had previously been applied half-consciously, but was in due course to achieve such marvellous results—as, for instance, in the hands of Luther Burbank, the modern miracle-worker, creator of new species.

Marx considers that economic factors are the essential material determinations of human history, and looks upon all the other alleged causes as "ideological superstructure." Darwin tells us that the main factor in the evolution of organic forms has been the historical process to which he gives the figurative name of "natural selection" (according to Auguste Comte, "elimination"), this being the outcome of the law of over-population, usually termed Malthus' law. As is well known, some (Chernyshevsky, and especially Dühring) have blamed Darwin for this, not knowing or forgetting that Malthus only borrowed his law from the naturalists, who had already applied it to animals and plants (Linnaeus, Franklin).

Now, what is the essence of this process of natural selection? Fundamentally, it is the adaptation of organisms to the conditions of existence. Herein, as Darwin explains in the opening pages of his book, we find the key to the understanding of the organic world, the answer to its riddles. The word "adaptation" has become the slogan of modern biology. That which is adapted, becomes comprehensible to the biologist; for, studying the process of adaptation, he understands the historical genesis of what he contemplates. Haeckel, a master in the art of word building, has given the name of "ecology" to this branch of the science of biology. But this word is derived from the same Greek root as "economy" and "economics." [3] The word

[3] The root of the first half of both words is "oikos," which means "house," "habitation." Derivatively, "economy" means "the management of the household," and "ecology," means "the science of habitat, or of environing conditions."

Marx to Count zu Eulenburg

The Communist Party's approach to the postwar period, with its emphasis on the possibility of democratic progress by peaceful and constitutional means on the basis of the Teheran accord, has evoked charges that the Party has abandoned Marxist principles. While the problems of the postwar period are unprecedented and ready answers cannot be found in books or the experience of the past, it is worth noting in connection with the anniversary of Karl Marx's birth that violence was never one of the principles of the science he founded. Marx and his great co-worker, Frederick Engels, more than once pointed out the circumstances under which socialism could be achieved by peaceful measures, particularly in the United States and England. We are indebted to A. Landy, noted Marxist scholar, for translating into English for the first time a little known passage from Marx illustrating this point.

In SEPTEMBER 1878, the German Reichstag was debating the proposed exceptional laws to outlaw the Social Democratic Party of Germany. On Sept. 24, 1878, Marx received a copy of the Reichstag debates. He immediately began to make an analysis of them and finished a draft on the Reichstag session of Sept. 17, 1878. Commenting on charges of the Minister of the Interior, Count zu Eulenburg, Marx shows all the holes and contradictions in them. Eulenburg had charged the German Social Democratic press with condoning the assassination attempts in Russia against Russian government officials and expressing sympathy for the Russian revolutionaries. Eulenberg tried to show the harmful character of these teachings and aims of German Social Democracy by three references, in the introduction of which he declared:

"And when you look more closely at the teachings and aims of Social Democracy, then, as previously stated, *peaceful development is not the goal*, but rather, *peaceful development is only a stage* that is to lead to the *final goal*, which can be reached by no other road than that of force." Marx commented as follows: "If we take the first part of the sentence, it only expresses a tautology or a stupidity: if the development has a 'goal,' 'final goal,' these 'goals,' etc., are 'goals' and not the character of 'peaceful' or 'unpeaceful' development. What Eulenburg really wants to say is: the peaceful development towards the goal is only a stage which is to lead to the violent development of the goal and this later transformation of the 'peaceful' and the 'violent' development lies, with Mr. Eulenburg, in the very nature of the goal aspired to. The goal in this case is the emancipation of the working class and the upheaval implicit in it (transformation of society). An historical development can remain 'peaceful' only so long as it is not opposed by any violent obstacles on the part of the rulers of society at the given time. If, for example, the working class in England or the United States were to win a majority in Parliament or Congress, it could remove the laws and institutions obstructing its development by legal methods, and this only to the extent that social development reveals such obstructions. And yet the 'peaceful' movement could turn into a 'violent' one by the revolt of those interested in maintaining the old status: if they are suppressed by *violence* (as the American Civil War and French Revolution) then it is as rebels against the 'legal' power.

"But what Eulenburg preaches is *violent reaction* on the part of the rulers against the *development* which is in a 'peaceful stage' and, to be sure, in order to prevent later 'violent' conflicts (on the part of the *aspiring* social class); the battle cry of the violent counter-revolution against the actual 'peaceful' development; actually, the government is attempting to suppress *violently* a development distasteful to it, but *legally* unassailable. This is the necessary introduction to violent revolutions. It is an old story, but it is eternally new." (Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels: *Briefe an A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, K. Kautsky und Andere.* I. [1870-1886] Moscow-Leningrad, 1933, 515-517.)

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is not much used in England, but has caught on in the United States where, side by side with the physiology of plants, botanists speak of vegetable ecology. But instead of coining a new word, would it not be better to retain the old one, and to explain its full significance? For my part, a few years ago I proposed to call this branch of botany "the economy of plant life." Thus we find that there is a general agreement between Darwin and Marx as regards what they teach about the primary determinants of evolutionary processes—a likeness which extends into the field of terminology.

But the similarity is not confined to generalities. It also concerns the products of this economic process. Marx tells us that the first stages in the development of a typically human activity, in the growth of man out of the animal, took the form of the discovery of instruments of production. He writes: "The use and fabrication of instruments of labor although existing in the germ among certain species of animals, is specifically characteristic of the human labor process, and Franklin therefore defines man as a tool-making animal." Karl Kautsky, expounding Marx's thought, makes use of a word-play which cannot be translated from the German. He says that an animal can "finden" (find) tools in nature, but man alone can "erfinden" (discover, elaborate) them. Ernest Rutherford, in one of his lectures, gives a very picturesque description of these first stages of the human inventive faculty. He is speaking of the special kind of tools known as weapons, and he says that their evolution is marked by the concentration of energy upon an ever more limited area. Thus the club strikes a surface of considerable extent; the axe or knife strikes a line; the spear or arrow strikes a point.

For in what can the process consist whereby living animals and plants are adapted to the conditions of existence, if not in the elaboration of organs, i.e., tools.[4]

Darwin tells us that we must look upon every complicated mechanism or instinct as the sum of a long historical series of useful adaptations just as much as any of the arts is. Consequently, the basis of Darwin's explanation of the forms of animal and vegetable life, like the basis of Marx's explanation of the forms of human society, is —the economic conditions of existence. And the elaboration of tools was one of the first manifestations of a typically human activity. But are we to suppose that this trend of activity is peculiar to primitive man? Do not we encounter the same phenomenon at higher stages of human evolution? Francis Bacon (whom Marx and Engels regard as the herald of the outlook on the world which led in due course to the formulation of historical materialism), Bacon, who announced the coming of the kingdom of man (this meaning the reign of science, and the victory of man over nature), wrote the following words anent the rise of experimental science, then just beginning: "*Nec manus nuda nec intellectus sibi permissus multum valet; instruments et auxiliis res perficitur.*" [5] Nor does this apply only to the dawn of modern science. The statement is equally valid as regards the scientific advances of the twentieth century. The celebrated physicist, Otto Wiener, in his lecture on "The Widening of the Domain of our Sensory Perceptions," points out that the most important achievements of physical science have been closely connected with the perfecting of instruments which can only be regarded as extensions of our sense organs—as (to use J. P. Pavlov's apt phrase) "analyzers of the outer world." Ludwig Boltzmann, finally, expressed the same thought with his usual clearness when, speaking of Kirchhov as the discoverer of the spectroscope, he said: "Kirchhov made our eyes into a new organ." Thus whether we interest ourselves in the origin of organic forms as a whole or in the origin of human society, at bottom we are concerned with economic processes, with processes of production. In one case it may be the production of organic matter by a plant; in the other it may be the crown of all human activity, the production of knowledge, of science. In either event, our first concern must be to study the origin of the organs or instruments (tools) whereby this production is carried on.

SUCH is the analogy between historical materialism and Darwinism in the departments where the objects under study are very different, being man, on the one hand, and the animal and vegetable world, on the other. But there is one department of Darwinism in which the topic of study is the same as that studied by historical materialism. Darwin's *Descent of Man* was published twelve years after the appearance of the *Origin of Species* and Marx's *Critique*. In this new work, the author did not limit his attention to the biological side of the question. In so far as was necessary for the proof on his thesis that man was descended from lower animal types, Darwin entered into sociological discussions. In two remarkable chapters he showed that man's intellectual and moral superiority over other animals (the ideological superstructure, as Marx would phrase it) took its rise out of two material peculiarities: first, the great development of the higher parts of the nervous system, of the brain, and the consequent improvement in the intellectual powers; and, secondly, the greater development of the "social instinct" which was already present in the higher animals. Thus for Darwin, as for Marx, the development of the social instinct, the growth of sociality, is the starting point of the natural-historical process by which the intellectual and moral characteristics of mankind are evolved. With good reason many British and German writers look upon Darwin as the founder of the new realistic school of ethics. To expound the parallelism between Darwinism and Marxism in this respect would, however, require more space than can be allotted here, and would take us away from the year 1859, with which we are at the moment chiefly concerned.

Such are the main lines of agreement in the fundamental notions set forth in these two great works, which were published almost simultaneously, so that neither can have exercised a direct influence upon the other. But one question remains to be considered. Here were two supremely great men, living quite near one another—not more than an hour's journey. Did they ever come into direct touch with one another? Upon this matter we can appeal to the testimony of Marx's son-in-law, Aveling. The latter tells us that Marx, an indefatigable and omnivorous reader, had made a careful study of all Darwin's writings; that when the second edition of the first volume of *Capital* was published in 1873, Marx sent a copy to Darwin; and that Darwin acknowledged the receipt of the book in the following letter:

October 1, 1873.

DEAR SIR: I thank you for the honor which you have done me by sending me your great work on *Capital;* and I heartily wish that I were more worthy to receive it, by understanding more of the deep and important subject of political economy. Though our studies have been so different, I believe that we both earnestly desire the extension of knowledge; and this, in the long run, is sure to add to the happiness of mankind.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES DARWIN.

I shall conclude this brief sketch by repeating, for the sake of emphasis, what I wrote at the outset. When we commemorate the "diamond jubilee" of the publication of these two books, when we think of it as a joint commemoration of Marx and Darwin, we do so recognizing that the two men marched side by side under the banner of natural science. Both of them regarded natural science as the one solid foundation of their revolutionary views—views that were destined to shake up both the "consciousness" and the "existence" of all mankind very thoroughly indeed!

[4] Cf. *Capital*, Vol. I., where Marx writes: "Darwin has interested us in the history of nature's technology, i.e., in the formation of the organs of plants and animals, which organs serve as instruments of production for sustaining life."

[5] "Neither the bare hand nor the unaided intelligence can achieve much; by tools and by helping-means, a thing is carried through."

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NM SPOTLIGHT

GOP Plastic Surgery

AN EXPERT job of political face-lifting has won considerable applause for Wendell Bricker and Franklin Delano Dewey. Both Bricker, whose first name, it will be remembered, used to be John and whose ideas used to be Senator Taft's, and Dewey in speeches last week came out strongly for the foreign policy of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull. The Ohio governor had a two-day jump on his rival, but for a man like Governor Dewey, who has been so energetically saying nothing about everything, it took considerable courage to assert only two months before the Republican convention that, politically speaking, the world was round. Such recklessness might well cost him the support of Gerald L. K. Smith, who, after the Wisconsin primary, declared: "Dewey is very popular among the America First people. I am very fond of him myself."

Both speeches called for waging the war to total victory and for the building of a postwar organization to maintain peace, based on the four-power coalition of the United States, Russia, Britain, and China. One would think, however, that having belatedly come around to a program long since adopted by the Roosevelt administration over the bitter opposition of the dominant forces in their own party, the two Republican gentlemen might show a little decorous humility. Instead, they engaged in some partisan sniping. It is a bit sickening to find Bricker attacking the administration's pre-war policy on the ground that "our government did not exercise ordinary prudence for our national security."

Just where was Bricker when President Roosevelt back in 1937 called for quarantining the aggressor, only to be howled down by the Republican mob in Congress and by the chief journalistic sponsor of Bricker's candidacy, William Randolph Hearst? And Dewey's glib assertion that "First came the Republican Mackinac charter, then the Moscow declaration and the Fulbright and Connolly resolutions" proved to be too much even for the New York *Times*, which pointed out that lifting of the arms embargo, lend-lease, the Atlantic Charter, the pact of the United Nations and many other developments came long before the ambivalent GOP "charter."

The Bricker and Dewey speeches would seem to indicate that the Republican high command has little faith in the "trend toward isolationism" which was supposed to have been manifested in the Wisconsin primary. On the contrary, after having assiduously obstructed the war effort, coddled the American Firsters and driven Wendell Willkie into retirement, the GOP defeatists have thought it expedient to put on the sheep's clothing of international collaboration in an effort to lure the voters. But there is nothing in the record of Dewey or Bricker to justify confidence in the genuineness of their last-minute conversion. Of the New York governor it can be said that the man who only four years ago assailed the administration for having recognized the Soviet Union, and who as recently as March 24, 1944, publicly sneered at the Teheran conference and pointed to Russia as the source of discord among the United Nations, will have to do more than make a pretty speech to prove a change of heart.

PERHAPS certain occurrences in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Minnesota were also responsible for the new tune in the Dewey and Bricker repertoire. In the Republican "write-in" primary in Pennsylvania last week Dewey snowed under all his opponents, but the total Republican vote was less than the total in the Democratic primary where President Roosevelt was unopposed—this in a GOP-controlled state. And what's more: third place in the Republican primary was won by a "Republican" named Franklin D. Roosevelt, who came in well ahead of Lieutenant Commander Stassen, Governor Martin of Pennsylvania, Governor Bricker, and Wendell Willkie, and not far behind General MacArthur. In Massachusetts, where anti-fourth term Democrats were making their strongest bid for power under the leadership of ex-Governor and ex-Liberty Leaguer Joseph B. Ely, pro-Roosevelt candidates for delegates to the Democratic national convention won in decisive fashion. In Minnesota new strength has been given the movement for a fourth term by the merger of the Farmer-Labor and Democratic Parties into a single militant organization.

All this may not constitute a "trend," but evidently the GOP bosses are taking no chances. Neither should the people. It is obvious that the best man to carry out President Roosevelt's foreign policy is not Dewey or Bricker or some other candidate still unhatched, but FDR himself.

Help for the Office Workers

THE Senate Committee that studied the living costs of white-collar and fixed-income groups hit the economic nail on the head. Unlike the Bureau of Labor Statistics, it was as hard-headed and realistic as the harassed housewife who goes to market. And for its realism it merits the congratulations of every right-minded American. There had been much muddled thinking in the BLS reports that took issue with labor authorities on the question of prices and real wages: the BLS had contended that living costs had not risen enough to imperil the standards of labor and lower-income groups. AFL and CIO spokesmen, closer to the bread-and-butter problems of the workingmen and white-collar groups, took a contrary position. Now, the Senate committee headed by Sen. Claude Pepper endorses the latter's findings and proposes adjustments that should become law as soon as is legislatively possible.

This special subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committe found that "20,000,000 Americans have not enjoyed rises in income commensurate with the most conservative estimate of the cost-of-living increase." This conclusion was reached by assessing certain obvious facts, which, strangely enough, were ignored by the BLS. It took into account such factors as deterioration in quality of goods, black market operations, regional differences in prices, the disappearance of certain cheaper grades of goods from the markets—considerations that grow out of wartime conditions, and that should be clear to anybody who is not glued to pages of dead statistics.

To remedy this state of affairs, to halt "the present inflationary trend" the subcommittee made the following recommendations: (1) that all controls be removed on incomes of family heads earning $200 or less monthly and similarly with those unmarried individuals who earn $150 or less monthly; (2) it urged that employers be permitted to raise such sub-standard incomes without application to the War Labor Board. In other words, that the WLB cease applying the Little Steel formula to substandard wages and salaries, and "that a sound, simple, and expeditious procedure for raising such wages and salaries be developed within the War Labor Board." The subcommittee inveighed against "unscrupulous employers" who take advantage

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of the fact that many workers do not understand the WLB policies and rules regarding wage adjustments. The Senate committee proposed simple explanations of those policies so that all involved—both employers and employes—could see the facts clearly.

The survey paid especial attention to teachers, municipal workers, and other white-collar groups—perhaps the greatest area of citizenry to have suffered deprivations as prices rose and incomes remained stationary. These findings are doubly welcome: they bolster the contention of those patient, patriotic citizens who have been doing their wartime jobs despite increasing hardship, and they help knock the props from under the demagogues who have sought to cash in on the inevitable dissatisfaction of these white-collar, fixed-income groups. It is not accidental that the lone Republican on the subcommittee, Sen. Kenneth S. Wherry, of Nebraska, failed to affix his signature to the survey: he was too busy "to study this report"—a report that can have profoundly favorable effects upon the nation in wartime.

Wartime Conference

THE white-collar and professional groups have proved themselves patriots first and foremost: they haven't permitted indubitable economic hardships to stand in their way. They prove this by their call for a second National Wartime Conference in New York, June 2 and 3. Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, chairman of the conference, has announced that nearly 100 organizations will participate this year to discuss "how the great strength of the sciences and professions can be fully released for a victorious and prosperous America." International collaboration among the sciences, professional and white-collar groups will be a key point in the deliberations: full employment, postwar readjustment and standards of living will also come under consideration. The list of organizations sponsoring the conference and its program is too extensive to be discussed here: we shall deal with the program at greater length later. Meanwhile we urge all of our readers of the white-collar, professional, and scientific categories to extend this conference all possible support: it is tackling a big problem, and can make an invaluable contribution toward its solution.

Fiddling While Rome Burns

SOME weeks ago one of the editors of NEW MASSES addressed a forum in York, Pa. During the few hours he spent in York he made the acquaintance of a local paper, the York *Gazette and Daily*. Much to his surprise he discovered that this newspaper was ardently supporting the war and the policies of the Commander-in-Chief, was working for close collaboration with our Allies and eschewing Red-baiting. We do not know whether the publisher of the York

Mail Order Mutiny

THE Montgomery Ward episode is one of the most sinister phenomena that has struck the American scene since Pearl Harbor. Today, on the eve of climactic events in the war, an American citizen of high place has arrogated to himself the responsibility of defying federal authority. And it is obvious that the head of the billion-dollar mail order house is not staging a one-man insurrection—he is not acting out of personal pique. Behind him stands the whole sorry file of those dedicated to blocking maximum efficiency in our war effort: the pandemonium caused in the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press by his ejection testifies to the character of his closest supporters. That the majority of the commercial press, as distinct from the outright defeatist publishers, joined in the anvil chorus is evidence of the dangerously partisan nature of their politics. Even the win-the-war New York *Herald Tribune* buckled and added to the din: lambasting the administration is evidently fair play for the GOP in '44. Yes, even if the war is the victim.

The facts are these: by every conceivable yardstick the President had the right to act as he did. As Dorothy Thompson observed, the Smith-Connally act provides no other method of enforcing the decision of the War Labor Board. The WLB had acted unanimously in turning the case over for executive action. On April 13, 1944, the employer, labor, and public representatives of the WLB had agreed that Montgomery Ward was the aggressor and that the President should take such action as he deemed necessary. They made the referral only after the company had flouted the WLB's order for three months. More than 6,000 disputes have been decided by the board since January 1942, and in only seven instances—two of them in cases involving Montgomery Ward—has the WLB been obliged to turn to the already over-burdened President for action.

And the President acted, in the only way he could, in the interests of national unity for victory. The howl which went up in the press and among certain members of Congress—including the very man whose name is attached to the bill which obliged the President to act—indicates their double-dealing. As Miss Thompson put it: "The outrage expressed in some sections of the press is odd, since it comes from the very people who urged the passage of the (Smith-Connally) act in the first place. Apparently it is a good act if used to coerce labor and a bad one if used to coerce employers." It is further ironic that the bill in question was forced into existence over the President's veto.

The contention that Montgomery Ward is not a war industry and that therefore the President had no legal right to order seizure is so much hogwash. The distinction between war and non-war industry today is so tenuous as to be non-existent. War workers still require consumers goods to turn out planes and tanks and ships: welders can scarcely go down to Henry Kaiser's shipyards minus shoes and shirts, and any firm supplying these essential commodities is in war industry whether it wants so to classify itself or not. And any firm attempting to subvert the practices of the War Labor Board is liable to full wartime sanctions; for the Board is central to the smooth functioning of labor-employe relations and anybody, whether employer or employe, who seeks to damage its effectiveness, is doing Hitler's work.

It is a pity that the *Herald Tribune* and some conservatives like David Lawrence allowed themselves to be stampeded into support of the insurrection. They should know better by now. And when Mr. Lawrence estimates that the administration has made a "colossal blunder" he is several notches short of the mark. His prediction that the country will be heard from on this issue in November clearly indicates the partisan motivations of his blast. But Mr. Lawrence is confusing America with Westbrook Pegler. We predict the exact contrary—that the people will endorse the President's action. The nation is in no mood to stand for Avery hysterics at a moment when its sons are about to make the supreme effort in Europe.

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Gazette and Daily attended the annual convention last week of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. If he did, we doubt that he felt at home there. For what ought to be the common standard of journalistic behavior, of elementary patriotism in the midst of this war for national survival, was unfortunately rarely observed.

At the ANPA convention, needless to say, no one arose to point out the threat to freedom of the press represented by the seditious, pro-fascist propaganda mills of Col. Robert McCormick, Capt. Joseph Patterson and William Randolph Hearst. On the contrary, it was the government that was accused of menacing freedom of the press by the ANPA and by its first cousin, the Associated Press, which held its convention simultaneously. The country's leading newspaper publishers also regaled each other with assaults on the Supreme Court, the War Labor Board, the Wage Hour Act, and the American Newspaper Guild.

While the publishers were in session three developments occurred in a neighboring country which one might think would have aroused an instantaneous response among partisans of a free press. Within a few days the Argentine pro-Axis government closed down for an indefinite period the Socialist organ *Vanguardia*, suspended for five days the famous democratic daily *Prensa*, and prohibited all newspapers from mentioning such subjects as freedom, the constitution and religion. If any voice was raised at the ANPA meeting calling attention to these outrages, it was lost in a wilderness of indifference. But the publishers, by their handling of the Sewell Avery putsch against our government, demonstrated eloquently how far they have departed from the great tradition of Benjamin Franklin, Tom Paine, and Philip Freneau.

The Greek "Mutinies"

THERE is no reason whatever for believing that Greek sailors and soldiers "mutinied" in the literal sense of that word. The armed forces of Hellas have an extraordinary record of bravery in this war dating back to their battles in the Albanian mountains, and when some of them barricaded themselves aboard three Greek war vessels in the Mediterranean it was for good cause. Theirs was a determined protest against the failure of the royal emigre cabinet in Cairo to form a coalition government representative of all political parties, underground groups, and people's organizations in the homeland. They simply want what the French and Yugoslavs and Italians have. And for wanting it many courageous anti-fascist Greeks languish in concentration camps in Palestine and Tripoli, put there by former Premier Tsouderos. What has been happening in the past several weeks is the culmination of many efforts to make the Cairo authority more democratic. Last March a five-man po-

litical committee, sponsored by the powerful National Liberation Front (EAM), tried to prevail on Tsouderos to take steps to expand the cabinet. The EAM and its army of 50,000 active guerrilla fighters (ELAS) and 150,000 reserves includes the Agrarian Party, Socialists, and Communists, the General Confederation of Labor as well as workers representing the railroad and civil servants unions. It has already cleared the invader from a large part of Greece. But the EAM's attempts at unity were fruitless and a wave of disappointment rolled through many Greek soldiers and sailors in the Middle East, particularly after a delegation of army officers were interned for submitting a memorandum to Tsouderos urging his government to accept the proposals of the five-man political committee. It is not unlikely that what occurred on the Greek warships was a reply to the measures taken against the army delegation.

Tsouderos resigned his post and his successor, Sophocles Venizelos, made his exit shortly after. The new premier, George Papandreou, has yet to show what he will do towards meeting the insistent demand for a coalition government. If he fails to establish unity, then a new Greek political crisis will sweep him out of office. Unhappily the British have played a muddle-headed and obtuse role reminiscent of their old attitude towards Tito, before events changed their minds. British fighting men in the Middle East have expressed admiration for the EAM-ELAS campaigns against the Germans, but political figures in Whitehall have not caught up with their military counterparts. In cooperation with the Greek king and his former cabinets, London has spread the fable of internecine warfare in Greece even after the EAM, the EDES, and the EKKA (the latter two consisting of small bands of partisans) had reached an agreement to work together. They even tried to make another Mikhailovich of the not too unwilling General Zervas, leader of the EDES. Out of all this, the EAM has emerged stronger and more popular. The truth which the Allies will have to recognize, soon or late, is that they will save themselves much time and heartache by impressing on the Cairo government that the shennanigans of the past must be ended and that the Greek people are sovereign even over King George.

Promises to the Dutch Indies

WITH the successful amphibious landing in the region of Hollandia, which belongs to the Netherlands section of New Guinea, the first bit of occupied Dutch territory has been regained from the enemy. It is not known whether our military plans call for an early extension of the drive to reconquer the Netherlands Indies, or whether the newly established base will be used primarily for sallies northward in the direction of the Philippines. Regardless of the immediate military future, the United Nations already occupy an important harbor, airfields, and a town in the Dutch Far Eastern colonies. This raises sharply in our minds the political future of the Netherlands Indies. For the problems of the Netherlands Indies are closely related to those of other British colonies. These areas may be liberated efficiently and in conformity with the objectives of the Atlantic Charter, or they may be rewon the hard way, depending upon the development of the Allies' political plans for their former subject peoples.

The entire Dutch empire in the Pacific was occupied by the Japanese during 1942, and in a manner which indicated that the Dutch rulers had taken too few steps for their protection and these too late. The so-called defense, regardless of propagandist attempts to picture it as heroic, was in the nature of what took place in Malaya. The Netherlands itself had, by this time, of course, already been completely occupied by the Nazis. Only the Netherlands West Indies, Curacao, Aruba, and Surinam, remained free from the enemy.

On Dec. 7, 1942, Queen Wilhelmina broadcast from England a declaration respecting the future of the Netherlands and its empire which held out the promise of a somewhat qualified self-determination for the colonial inhabitants after the war. The statement was heavily weighted in the direction of a dominions arrangement, but nevertheless marked a distinct advance over the outright imperialism of the pre-war era. Progressive Indonesian groups have given the Queen's program their support, but they have indicated that most of its immediate value will be lost if it is not speedily carried into effect. Unfortunately, nothing of a progressive nature has been undertaken in the West Indies during the war; there has been on the contrary a policy of severe repression of democratic rights. Other than the Queen's conditional promises, the inhabitants of the East Indies whose lands we have begun to reoccupy have been given

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no incentive whatsoever to oust their present overlords. The time has come when political steps must be taken to indicate the integrity of the United Nations' intentions toward these people.

Five Minutes from Zero

THE fifth May Day of the war has come and gone. In the democratic centers of the world the atmosphere is tense, jubilant, electric. Great military events impend and on the continent the invisible armies move into position awaiting General Eisenhower's signal. The pitch of expectancy reaches ever higher crescendos. In this preliminary *Nervenkrieg*, the enemy twists and turns, dashing against the walls of his cage, cringing with fear over his rapidly approaching doom. He sees buzzing over his head the Allied air armadas and behind them he knows are great armies ready to strike and to liberate the enslaved. Everywhere there is a sense of a climactic moment as the war in Europe enters its last and critical stage.

In Moscow on May Day, Marshal Stalin took stock of the Red Army's achievements. He told his people that they must pursue the wounded German beast and "finish it off in its own lair." He took note of the crisis among the panicky satellites. They were the countries who joined in Hitler's demonic plans to loot the earth and now the whole bloc "is cracking and falling to pieces." The sooner the peoples of these countries remove the Nazi yoke, the less destruction will the war bring them. To the United States and to Great Britain Stalin expressed the gratitude of the whole Soviet community for the contributions our and British factories have made to the Soviet war effort. But the final task of exterminating the vermin is a matter of coordinated blows by the Allies from east and west. "There is no doubt," said Stalin, "that only such a combined blow can completely crush Hitlerite Germany."

Several days ago Moscow broadcast a summary of the Red Army's accomplishments in the southern campaign. In forty-six days—from March 1 to April 15—a

Facing a New World

IT IS apparent from the first ten days of the International Labor Conference in Philadelphia that the ILO is badly in need of focus. Its program, its methods of work, its jurisdiction, indeed its objectives, are blurred. Much about the organization is a hangover from pre-war League of Nations days with more than a touch of Munich thrown in. The much-needed transformation to a wartime agency serving the United Nations has yet to be made. Whether such changes will be authorized during the Philadelphia meetings, whether the ILO will now be brought sharply into focus with the urgent needs of the anti-fascist coalition remain to be seen.

Izvestia pointed out the organization's deficiencies very well in its editorial of last week. Unfortunately a number of persons who should have known better, Secretary of Labor Perkins among them, made unfriendly comments based upon a distortion of the editorial cabled by the Associated Press. Only the *Daily Worker* saw fit to print the entire Soviet comment. Speaking out strongly against the ILO's role in the war, *Izvestia* said: "At the time of mortal struggle of the democratic countries against Hitlerite Germany and her satellites, the ILO leadership in every way stressed that it was not an organ of the United Nations conducting joint struggle against the common enemy, but a kind of 'international organization' into which certain leaders of this bureau tried to invite various fascist countries." Elsewhere the editorial comments upon the ILO's lack of authority to enforce its convention decisions and points out that it is organizationally an appendage of the League of Nations, which no longer exists.

Izvestia's recommendations call for transforming the ILO into a genuine agency of the United Nations and propose, among other things, that the voice of labor be made equal to that of employers and governments combined in future deliberations. These views are neither startling nor are they the exclusive property of our Russian allies. Many of these points have already been reflected in speeches made by delegates, government and employer as well as worker, at the opening sessions in Philadelphia. Most concretely and constructively, they have been put forward by Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Confederation of Latin American Workers and Mexican worker delegate to the conference.

Lombardo has provided a program for such an organization as the ILO in reference to the special social and economic needs of the Latin American nations, but his remarks are equally applicable to the other undeveloped regions of the earth. He emphasized that the desires and demands of labor in these countries were identical with those of other patriotic groups and represent the needs of those nations as a whole. The broad task is to permit such semi-colonial countries to emerge from their backward conditions and become part of modern society "within a plan of continental and world harmony." Such a task, he suggested, could be carried forward in accordance with the following principles: first, tripartite government-employer-worker control over the investment of foreign capital in the less developed countries in order to govern the allocation of capital, taxes, freight rates and tariffs, coordination with native capital, etc.; and, second, the subjection of trade and commerce to such conditions as planned quotas, price and exchange regulation.

IF THE ILO cannot advance such a program as its central function it is difficult to see that it has any useful future. There is no question but that a majority of the delegates of all categories at Philadelphia want to head the organization in some such direction. Their main obstacle comes from those appeasers and opportunists who place the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace anywhere from second to last place. They are attempting to use this international bureau for their own divisive purposes.

Among these one of the worst culprits is the small clique in the AFL leadership who unhappily possess the American worker delegate's seat at the conference. Their scheme, already thoroughly exposed, is to exploit the ILO to sabotage the forthcoming meeting of trade unions in London, to destroy the CTAL and Lombardo, and to establish a bloc of anti-Soviet, defeatist labor capable of preventing the growth of United Nations solidarity. So far these elements have taken a beating at Philadelphia. They failed in their miserable effort to seat the fascist worker delegate from Argentina. They have been rebuffed by the solid unity of the Latin labor delegates behind Lombardo's leadership. They remain bankrupt of ideas in the face of such statesmanlike proposals as that of the CTAL president. They and those with whom they are allied in the ILO leadership must be routed.

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half million Nazi troops were either captured or destroyed. Five thousand tanks and self-propelled guns were taken, in addition to 130,000 motor vehicles. The lull which the Soviet communiques now report is the quiet before another storm. At Sevastopol the fleeing Germans are finding wet graves at the bottom of the Black Sea with Soviet aviators and naval forces acting as the morticians.

From Britain the sky campaign becomes more intense with each passing day. Last week within a period of six days, seven missions of nearly a thousand heavy bombers each blasted German industrial centers. In a period of thirteen days, Allied aircraft dropped a total of 60,000 tons of bombs. And the direction of these raids has been shifting from strategic to tactical targets, the destruction of Nazi defense points along the coast of France.

In the Pacific, Allied attacks on Japanese positions continue unabated. In India, Japanese forces were turned back in their attempt to take Imphal and Kohima. Thus the Mikado's effort to cut Allied supply lines has temporarily failed, but intense fighting looms ahead. Only in China were the Japanese moving forward. They have started a new drive in Anhwei province east of Honan. American bombers were supporting the Chinese in the Chengchow area. The Japanese were apparently trying to safeguard their communications between north and central China and to capture the Honan wheat crop.

LABOR ABROAD by MARTIN T. BROWN

INDIA'S PEASANTS MEET

ONE of the most inspiring stories to reach here from famine-wracked India is the report of the annual session of the All-India Kisan Sabha (peasant union) at the close of March. As the peasants gathered at Bezwada in Andhra, North Madras, the famine death figure had reached the tragic total of 3,000,000 in the state of Bengal alone and mass starvation was spreading to other provinces.

Described by observers as "reminiscent of National Congress meetings," the session drew nearly 100,000 peasants from all parts of India in the largest mass mobilization since the arrest of Congress leaders on Aug. 9, 1942. And this in spite of the fact that the Madras government banned railway travel to Bezwada, in spite of intervention by the police, and disruptive efforts by followers of a Professor Ranga who left the Sabha two years ago and has tried unsuccessfully to form a rival organization.

But most remarkable of all was the amazing growth of the AIKS—553,000 in the past year—an increase of 100 percent over 1942. The Sabha was able to announce that after its two years of existence the bond of unity between non-Communist and Communist leaders had been strengthened. It invited members of the Moslem League and Congressmen to work with it, to help the peasant and aid him in "discharging his patriotic duty of feeding the people and defeating the hoarders." The session reiterated its determination to work for unity between the Congress and the League, to win a national government of anti-fascist defense and freedom for India.

Most pointed in the Sabha's deliberations was its practical consideration of the food crisis. The session reviewed the efforts of the AIKS to grow more food during the past year and pledged to redouble its efforts in the future. It called on the government to "remove the obstacles which prevent the peasants from growing more food." Pointing up the reasons for the intensification of the famine crisis, the session declared that procurement of supplies is the most vital part in the central government's food plan, but that "in practice the government's very policy is serving to defeat its own ends." To quote the resolution: "The government relies upon the hoarders who were the food thieves of 1943 to supply food to the people in 1944 and refuses to rely on the patriotic efforts of the people themselves. It declines to make way for a national government, which could effectively enforce price control against hoarders by means of the people's cooperation, inspire the peasants to sell their surplus at a fair price, and organize rationing in the towns."

To counter the effects of government policy, the Sabha urged peasants not to sell their products to hoarders but to government agents and to "organize self-help on the basis of village unity to feed the destitute and poor."

Also significant, in view of the Japanese invasion of eastern India and the "isolationist" position taken by many members of the National Congress, is the declaration by the AIKS that "our country's freedom can only be won by allying ourselves with the anti-Axis forces and by forging national unity for the achievement of a national government."

The major political resolution demanded the release of Congress leaders and an end to the deadlock with the British government. The Sabha paid tribute to the Red Army, the Soviet people and "their incomparable leader Stalin," and to the "valiant and great Chinese people." Fraternal solidarity with the trade unions and other democratic organizations in Britain, the United States and other United Nations was pledged and these groups were thanked "for having accorded increased support during the past year to the just demands of the Indian people."

As reported by Sharaf Athar Ali, *Allied Labor News* correspondent, the session was "an organizational feat of awakened peasant humanity." It was held in a town temporarily erected of bamboo and palmyra leaves. Communal kitchens run by peasants fed the gathering. High caste peasants, untouchables, and landless agricultural laborers dined together.

Cultural groups from all provinces presented patriotic themes in the traditional form of folk songs, dances, and playlets. 20,000 peasants attended an exhibition of the very best breeds of peasant cattle, and an agricultural department agent remarked that official shows get neither such good breeds nor peasant cooperation. Another notable feature was the presence of 20,000 peasant women, a larger percentage than has ever been mobilized by any political organization.

THE announcement by President Getulio Vargas that after the war Brazilians will freely choose a representative government is another step in the growing democratization of Brazil, which became most marked following her adherence to the United Nations, and her steps toward active participation in the war. It is one of the most encouraging signs to come from Latin America where fascism has been extending its influence.

The Brazilian President told a press conference: "When again in full possession of the benefits derived from peace we will complete that which is lacking in our governmental institutions. The people, through the freest and most ample means, will then, without fear of any kind whatsoever, declare themselves and choose their representatives within democracy, within law and order. Honoring her war agreements, her normal rhythm restored, Brazil in peace will be governed in accordance with national desires."

After a recent series of talks between

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Vargas and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL), Brazilian labor was allowed to communicate with the outside world on political questions for the first time. It is believed that the Vargas-Toledano discussions resulted in a joint plan to counter the encroachment of Argentine fascism and the establishment of a working relationship between Brazilian corporative syndicates and the CTAL.

Brazil's frankly corporative constitution was written by Francisco da Silva Campos, former Minister of Education, with the help of an Italian fascist named Cecchi, and promulgated on Nov. 10, 1937. Campos, who became Minister of Justice under the new constitution, defined the Brazilian system as "democratic and totalitarian at the same time." Supreme authority, he said, "resides in the President, who governs in the interests of the people." At one time he tried to organize a "Brownshirt" legion in the state of Minas Geraes and was an intimate associate of Plinio Salgado, chieftain of the pro-fascist *Integralistas*.

In July 1942, after Brazil had joined the United Nations, Vargas accepted Campos' resignation along with those of Vasco Leitao de Cunha, undersecretary of the justice department, and Lourival Fontes, Director General of Press and Propaganda and known as "the Brazilian Goebbels." At the same time Vargas announced the resignation of Felinto Muller, Rio de Janeiro police chief, who had actually been removed a month previously because of his attempts to create a Brazilian Gestapo. Campos, Muller, and Fontes were known as "the fascist triumvirate."

Perhaps one of the more significant reasons for the democratization of Brazil may be seen in a recent interview given by Lombardo Toledano to *Allied Labor News*' Mexico City correspondent. The Latin American labor leader warned that the Vargas government is menaced by a domestic reactionary conspiracy linked to the pro-fascist dictatorship in Argentina. "The economic crisis in Brazil is extreme," he said, with "average food and clothing costs out of proportion with wage levels." Fascist demagogues, he added, build on this to agitate against the Vargas government.

Although the *Integralistas* or "Green Shirts" were officially dissolved in 1939, their remnants maintain contact with *America Alerta*, the secret organization of fascist South American army officers headed by the notorious Col. Juan Domingo Peron, head of the Argentine "Colonels' Lodge." Lombardo Toledano stressed that a coup d'etat in Brazil would be extremely serious to the Pan-American war effort.

Vargas' statement in support of a postwar democratic regime in his country is the logical continuation of his recent policies. It is also one of the most significant results of the war of liberation being waged against fascism. As the largest country in

(*Continued on page* 31)

READERS' FORUM

Orderly Disorder?

TO NEW MASSES: The editors' reply to my letter on Browder's report [published in the April 11 issue] failed to resolve my misgivings. And it seems to me that these stem from something more basic than my failure to "resist a backward glance."

It is true that my "conception of how the Marxists in western Europe should help fulfill the perspectives of Teheran" differs from that of the NM editors. I hold, to quote from my letter, that "Teheran is an agreement by the coalition to make use of democracy as an umpire in the settlement of social conflict in postwar Europe." The settlement of social conflict may bring about social upheavals. The merit of Teheran, in my view, lies in that it makes possible for social upheavals to come about without resort to physical violence, civil wars. NM editors, on the other hand, hold that the Teheran agreement aims to obviate the social upheavals. This seems to me a serious and legitimate difference of opinion which merits a discussion rather than a categorical statement that my "thinking on this whole question is petrified by obsolete formulas."

As a matter of fact, Harland H. Allen, the businessman who looks at Russia in the very same NM issue, advises his fellow capitalists to kiss goodbye the world with which they are familiar and make suitable adjustment toward a new state of affairs. He dots his i's and crosses his t's, to use the editors' expression, in sponsoring "the right of the individual country to choose (freely) the kind of internal political and economic organization which it prefers," and in considering as a basis of postwar disarmament the disposition to permit "the socialist way, as in Russia."

In challenging my position on the attitude of the non-defeatist sector of the capitalist class, the editors represent me as standing before a dilemma, getting around it, etc. The fact of the matter is that it is not I but the said sector of the capitalist class which stands before the dilemma, posed by history. Yes, oppressed by a morbid fear of democracy, it is at the same time an ally in a war whose victorious conclusion will mean the strengthening of democracy. To Marxists it is old stuff to catch capitalism hugging a contradiction. A body, faced by the tug of opposing forces, often solves its problem by standing still, by vacillating, or by running around in circles. Much of the current history of the non-fascist sector of the bourgeoisie can be summarized by this formula.

IRWIN EDELMAN.

New York.

MR. EDELMAN adds nothing to the position he stated in his original letter and there is little we can add to our reply to that letter. As we pointed out on that occasion, while Mr. Edelman's intention is to support the Communist approach to postwar problems presented in Earl Browder's recent report, he is, in fact, attempting to reconcile that approach with an old one rooted in the perspective of sharp class conflict. That is why from this amalgam he is able to distill "social upheavals to come about without resort to physical violence, civil wars." Since the editors of NEW MASSES do not believe in well-behaved earthquakes, we cannot believe in Mr. Edelman's orderly disorder. We do believe in the possibilities for peaceful progress envisaged in the Moscow and Teheran accords.

Harland H. Allen, who wrote "A Businessman Looks at Russia," in our April 11 issue, would no doubt be greatly surprised to discover that his ideas could be used to bolster Mr. Edelman's argument in his previous letter that the forces of socialism should "attempt to obtain a place at the steering wheel, mindful of the warnings of Marx and Lenin that the modern bourgeoisie had become too reactionary to conduct the democratic revolution." This is an approach which, despite all efforts to read new meanings into words, conceives of national unity as a club to be wielded by the workers over the heads of the capitalists. —The Editors.

Word of Praise

TO NEW MASSES: The Virginia Gardner bulletins of the law-making and un-making going on in our legislative chambers fill an immediate and urgent need. They should lighten the labors of various agencies who are at present to some extent duplicating one another's work.

Such dramatic detail pictures will, in series, fit together into a comprehensive presentation of issues and personalities which should equip every worker-voter to act intelligently as lobbyist and to do his political thinking creatively.

Thanking you for the splendid magazine you produce.

New York. HELEN WEST HELLER.

"This imprisonment is a blow to academic and intellectual freedom. Distinguished scholars throughout the nation have testified to this. As Chief Justice Irving Lehman said in his dissenting opinion: 'The evidence is insufficient to sustain a finding of guilt of perjury in the first degree upon the theory on which the case was tried.'" —From a telegram to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, Albany, N. Y., signed by Elizabeth Bergner, Franchot Tone, Paul Robeson, Sylvia Sydney, Edward Chodorov, Philip and Julius Epstein, Martha Raye, Milton Berle and other cultural leaders urging a pardon for Morris U. Schappes. Have you written the governor?

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COMSTOCKERY IN BOSTON

AFTER the banning of *Mrs. Warren's Profession* in this country, George Bernard Shaw remarked that "comstockery is the world's standing joke at the expense of the United States." And that was all too true in the super-snooper days when Anthony Comstock bragged of how many writers he drove to shame and suicide. Prior to 1930 American customs inspectors prohibited the entry of such obscene trash as Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, Ovid's *Art of Love*, *The Arabian Nights*, Voltaire's *Candide*, the *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, and the assorted works of Rabelais, Rousseau, Boccaccio, and Balzac.

But that belongs to the past. Shaw needs to be brought up to date. With the banning of Lillian Smith's *Strange Fruit* "comstockery is America's standing joke at the expense of Boston."

The bold action of the Boston authorities upholds a record of which the strong Coughlinite elements in that city may well be proud. No American community has been so vigilant. Can Chicago or New York equal Boston's all-out fumigation of 1929, when no fewer than sixty-eight "obscene" books—including Lenin's *State and Revolution*—were swept back into the suburbs? The other pornographic monstrosities included Upton Sinclair's *Oil*, Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy*, H. G. Wells' *The World of William Clissold*, Lion Feuchtwanger's *Power*, Sinclair Lewis' *Elmer Gantry*, Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*, Aldous Huxley's *Antic Hay*, Sherwood Anderson's *Dark Laughter*.

That makes a mighty bright bonfire. Even Hitler didn't do so very much better.

Boston's censors take top honors in the theater too, despite stiff competition. Let Memphis close the doors on Robert Sherwood's *Idiot's Delight*, let Providence ban Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men*, let Salt Lake City deny a stage to Clare Boothe's *Kiss the Boys Goodbye!* Boston is still up in front clawing away at Odets' *Waiting for Lefty* and Hellman's *The Children's Hour*.

The record is staggering. *Strange Fruit* is too good a book to be left out of such company. The Boston censors' uncanny judgment is swift and sure. They have a knack of rescuing a book from possible oblivion and insuring its place on the best-seller lists. In a way their behavior is beautifully self-sacrificing. Stoically they deprive Boston of good reading so that the glad tidings may be spread throughout the land that unto us an author is born.

Or is there something more sordid behind the scenes? Are the Boston censors taking bribes from the publishers' press agents? Do they ban at a price? Where would Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* have got without an "obscenity" scandal? Or Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre*, Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*, Gautier's *Mademoiselle de Maupin*? After Comstock's attack on Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, opening night orchestra seats sold for fifteen dollars and balcony seats for ten. It didn't exactly hurt the sale of *The Grapes of Wrath* when Kansas City and Buffalo removed the book from the public library shelves.

BUT is there any substance to the charge that Lillian Smith's *Strange Fruit* is obscene? Definitely yes, according to District Judge Arthur P. Stone. Here is his opinion: "I wouldn't say that a book was impure because of one word, but I believe that certain incidents have been lugged in to make this book dirty. I believe that the author brought in the filth with an eye to increasing the sales." In other words, the intent of the book is at once pornographic and crassly commercial, in the view of Judge Stone.

Only prejudice bordering on blindness, or insensitive reading bordering on the obtuse, could lead to this astounding judgment. Virtually every qualified critic of the book has praised its sincerity, integrity, and courage. Not one has ascribed to it an obscene intent. On the contrary, the critics have marvelled at the compassionate treatment of the love affair between the colored Nonnie Anderson and the white Tracy Deen. I for one find it difficult to see how any honest reader can question the seriousness of Miss Smith's purpose. I do not believe she has uniformly succeeded in this rich and challenging novel. I do believe that she has brought to it a wealth of sympathetic understanding, a profound humanity, and a highly trained psychological insight.

Stanley DeGraff

I heard Miss Smith speak at a Harlem library forum the other evening, and I was again impressed by these qualities as I had been in reading the novel. Miss Smith spoke about her childhood in Georgia, where she still lives, and about her town. As a child she was told that color differences between people were very important, but she could never feel they were important. People were people, and that was important. They were impossible to label and catalogue by color. The author has retained that belief.

Miss Smith is interested in what draws people together and what drives them apart. She is deeply concerned with the conflict between personal desires and the cultural pattern of her Georgia town, a conflict that tears her white character to pieces and brings tragedy to her colored heroine. She feels that the cherished lie of white supremacy has cut off Southern whites from reality. To hold on to that lie it is necessary to run away from science. Religion becomes an empty shell when there is church-going but no belief in the teachings of Christ regarding man's brotherhood. It is imperative for the well-being both of whites and Negroes, Miss Smith emphasized, to break down the dividing wall. "Education," she said, "will not solve the problem; it will help; but we must get rid of segregation."

It was a thoughtful talk, and the people of Harlem who filled the hall warmly appreciated Lillian Smith's sincerity. For there was no condescending "look how free from prejudice I am." There was no disposition to avoid grave difficulties. Here was a great problem to be faced, the greatest human problem in our land, with courage and intelligence, both in life and in fiction.

This seriousness pervades the novel and gives the lie to assertions of sensationalism or pornography. As a matter of fact, Miss Smith is a trained child psychologist. She has dealt professionally with children for twenty years. When a lady in the audience asked if there weren't words in her book that should be kept away from children, the author replied that children do not have the empty heads we ascribe to them. And that is of course the trouble with censors. They ascribe empty-headedness not only to children but to adults. Their bumblingly officious activity is based

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on the assumption that somebody must keep from people the knowledge they already possess.

The Boston "sex-censors," in a word, are an insult to the intelligence of Boston, the United States, and the whole of the human race.

It is worth recalling the historic decision of Judge John M. Woolsey in the *Ulysses* case. In 1933 Judge Woolsey ruled—and he was sustained by a higher court—that James Joyce's *Ulysses* was not written for the purpose of exploiting obscenity. The Judge spent a long time reading this novel, which he found, in turn, brilliant and dull intelligible and obscure. But he understood that it was a serious experiment in a new literary genre, and that its author was loyal to the technique he had devised for observing and recording life. It was not a dirt for dirt's sake book. Judge Woolsey was aware that *Ulysses* is a strong draught for delicate minds, but his considered verdict was that "Whilst in many places the effect of *Ulysses* undoubtedly is somewhat emetic, nowhere does it tend to be an aphrodisiac."

An equally fair judge will have to conclude that *Strange Fruit* is, despite limitations, an honest and important study of a segment of American life. Unlike *Ulysses*, this novel does not provide even the excuse of "coarseness." I suspect that the Boston censors aren't so much worried by "words" as they are by the unconventional relationship, so sympathetically portrayed, between people of different color. They have expressed human and political bigotry as much as esthetic and moral bigotry.

I hope the decent people of Boston will rebuke the tiny-minded men who have once more smeared their city. And I hope that the writers of America will raise their voices just a wee bit higher in defense of integrity and courage in literature. In the long run, this sort of thing is not a joke. It is a pernicious threat, and it should be fought.

Mr. Hecht in Profundis

A GUIDE FOR THE BEDEVILLED, *by Ben Hecht. Scribner's. $2.50.*

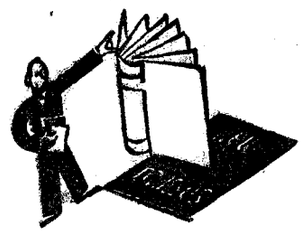
MR. HECHT wrote this book to combat anti-Semitism—a worthy motive. However, it is not a bad idea to find out something about a subject before one attempts to write a book. Perhaps if the author had seriously studied his theme, his purpose would have been fulfilled.

A hodge-podge of emotional outpourings, mystical effusions about the immutable nature of man's soul, and a dash of sex, *Guide for the Bedevilled* ranges from jousting with the anti-Semitism of Voltaire and Belloc to autobiographical ramblings, and features a forty-page movie scenario! But over all hangs an aura of gloom and despair—as the author expresses it: "The world is an ugly place and grows uglier with each generation. Goodness does not come into it—though you coo till you explode. Evil and vileness thrive like wild vines around its throat. The more ideals that appear (and they appear like locusts and June bugs), the more viciousness increases. For each ideal generates angry partisans. Every new philosophy promotes murder and not thought. Every new invention renews greed and selfishness. The world is a wretched and contumelious planet."

Why Mr. Hecht calls his book a "guide" is a mystery. Nowhere does he point a way. Rather, he sits in his gnarled oak tree and croaks like a raven. The Germans, he choruses with Lord Vansittart, must be completely wiped out. The German "race" is responsible for the evils of mankind, something inherent in its blood. Economics have nothing to do with it.

Next, the author disposes of those who will be most apt to disagree with his "racial" theory—the Communists. It is Mr. Hecht's amazing judgment that the Jew who becomes a Communist does so as a form of escape! To become a Communist, according to the author, means to graduate "from worrying about the enemies of Jews," to "escape . . . personal pain by disdaining the murder of three million Jews as being unimportant—compared to the wider injustices practiced against hundreds of millions of workers by the capitalist system." And, "in achieving all these things he has had the satisfaction of *not thinking like a Jew but a Russian.*" [Emphasis mine.]

Here Mr. Hecht resorts to his own brand of racialism. According to his theory, one thinks in a certain way not because of experience, knowledge, and intelligence but because of one's nationality. On the contrary, American Jews who are Communists think as class-conscious, politically developed citizens of their country; English Jews who are Communists do the same, so do Russian Jews and so on. No Jewish member of any Communist organization in any country ever "disdained" the barbaric murder of three million Jews as being "unimportant"; rather has he been in the forefront of the struggle to destroy the forces responsible for this scourge. I have stressed this point because it is symbolic of the belief of certain strata of Jewish intelligentsia who feel that becoming a Communist somehow means to lose one's identity as a Jew. It is when he discusses the Jew in America that the author really outdoes himself. After supporting the Christian Front charge that the movies are under Jewish control (he admits that he will probably be "embraced by our anti-Semites"), Hecht complains that the caricature Jew, he of the dialect, baggy pants, hook nose, has disappeared. His argument is that when this caricature was prancing about the stage, adorning maga-



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zine cartoon pages and inhabiting the mass publications, he made the non-Jews laugh, thus making it impossible for them to hate him. Now that he has been "kidnapped" by the Jewish movie moguls, "he is a mystery to the 'goyim'. They see him around them, but his soul is invisible." There is Mr. Hecht's solution. Let the Jews put on their putty noses and baggy pants, bring the dialects out of the closet. The fascists will be routed with hysteria. No need for strong organizations to combat racial and religious discrimination — a vaudeville routine will turn away wrath!

These are only a few examples of an utter lack of any deep understanding of the economic, social, and political forces responsible for anti-Semitism. Mr. Hecht puts his finger on his trouble in discussing his background:

"I had no awareness of what is called the Struggle for Existence. It is true I came from poor people and had been surrounded for many years by a toiling and often desperate troop of relatives. But this had never stirred me to any interest in the working classes. I regarded all poor people as part of my family. I was ready to love them, champion them and be fascinated by them. *But my sympathy fell short of interest in their actual troubles.*" [Emphasis mine.] Perhaps when Mr. Hecht develops this "interest" he will be able to write a "Guide" that doesn't lead to oblivion.

LEE LAWSON.

Brief Review

POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD, *edited by Walter H. Mallory. Published by Harpers for the Council on Foreign Relations. $2.75.*

THIS is a useful reference volume, particularly for those working in the field of foreign relations. Its information on the composition of governments, party leaders, and parties, as well as its brief summaries of recent political events in each country make it a valuable guide to the day's news. Not as authoritative, however, is its listing of each country's newspapers, press agencies, and in some cases periodicals. NEW MASSES, for example, is not mentioned at all among the American periodicals, yet its influence and its circulation is certainly as large as the two or three other weeklies included in the listing. And the section on the Soviet Union (inaccurately headed "Russia") could stand greater conformity with the facts. The USSR is composed of sixteen republics, not eleven.

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HATFUL OF PLAYS

By HARRY TAYLOR

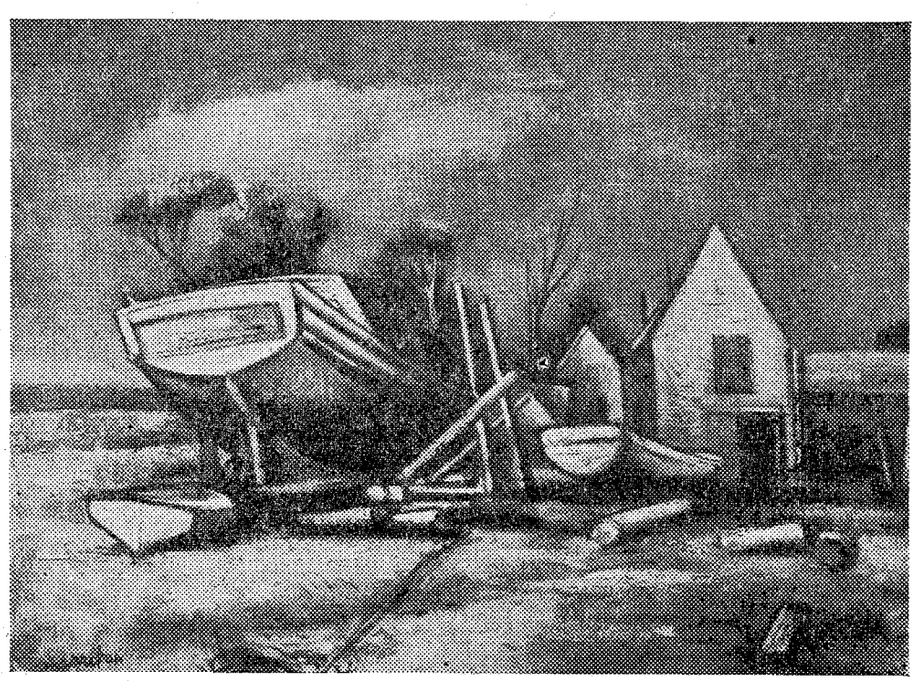
THIS has been an intensely furious week on Broadway with three dramatic openings, a musical, and an operetta. For the most part, as Bide Dudley was wont to say, "terrific excitement, but could not find out what it was about." Except for *War President*, presented for two invitation matinees by the Experimental Theater under the joint sponsorship of Equity and the Dramatists' Guild, the rest were frankly aimed at box office success.

Pretty Little Parlor, first of the showings, has already vanished into Caine's cavern. The only entertaining memory which I shall keep of this inept portrait of a fiend in woman-form is the bit in which Stella Adler removes her over-constraining corset and is discovered to be thinner without it.

Somerset Maugham's *Sheppey*, presented by Jacques Chambrun at The Playhouse, is also billed as a portrait. It is a smooth piece in which the least of the characters is given definition under the clever direction of Sir Cedric Hardwicke; the acting is delightful, especially that of Edmund Gwenn as the cockney barber who has come into a sweepstakes fortune; and the two settings by Watson Barret are right. What is not so slick or delightful or right is the emerging portrait of Maugham. For in *Sheppey*, this most superficially cynical and facile of writers makes an attempt to think through the problem of how a humane, just man can cope with a poverty-ridden, inhumane world. The only solution he can present is personal salvation according to the crudest interpretation of the life of Jesus Christ. Sheppey, therefore, begins to dole out his winnings to such individuals as excite his spontaneous pity and to impose upon his family a homeless tart and a petty thief. However, Maugham is either too intelligent or possibly too self-conscious to allow Sheppey entire freedom of action within this frame. He first shoves Sheppey into a psychiatrist's verdict of insanity and then adds his own proof that Sheppey is a victim of paranoia by arranging for the humble barber to die during a talk with the palpable image of Death. Thus Maugham abandons his own slight faith and emerges from the play a confused man and an ill-convinced mystic. Since *Sheppey* was written ten years ago, it is interesting to see that on the evidence of his latest novel, *The Razor's Edge*, Maugham has not moved out of his confusion and mysticism. Once more he considers the state of the world: finds it cruel and illogical; permits his protagonist to have a go at discovering some personal way of living with it; and finally retires him from all human intercourse into the utter vacuity of a Hindu monastery to practice "calmness, forbearance, compassion, selflessness, and continence." This in a world which is daily forging the community and brotherhood of man! Strange how a clever man like Maugham can remain so blind.

THE two musical presentations of the week could scarcely be farther apart in Broadway values. There is altogether too little in *Allah Be Praised* worth a salaam either to Allah or to Shah Alfred Bloomingdale. George Marion, Jr. had the less than wonderful idea of a Persian harem setting in which all the characters from the Emir down are Americans. The noise and movement in this Persia sans Persians is all in the direction of wearisome vulgarity and what wit there is keeps fairly close to lovely Jayne Manners' rhythmic navel. The music is perhaps the most undistinguished I have heard this season. An enormous and handsome cast, very expensively caparisoned, does its utmost to simulate abandon and gayety; Anita Alvarez dances beautifully, especially in the slow motion man-at-the-bat novelty; Mary Jane Walsh sings hard and Patricia Morison sings soft; a little more of Joey Faye might have helped; but none could beat the handicap of book and score.

But if Allah is to be praised, then glad hosannas are to be shouted for *Helen Goes to Troy*, the Offenbach operetta at the Alvin. It is a free adaptation of Max Reinhardt's *La Belle Helene* with many more of E. W. Korngold's gay and graceful rearrangements of Offenbach's music, a new book by Gottfried Reinhardt and John Meehan, Jr., and delightfully colloquial lyrics by Herbert Baker. Indeed the book is so fresh that, without being in any way ponderous in this regard, it is quite easy to observe in it a parable of the folly and danger of appeasement. For Menelaus, hilariously gaited by Ernest Truex, is first afraid of Paris, then tries to dismiss his reality, then finding him in bed with Helen, offers to appease him—only in the end to face the bloody seven years' war for her return. If this description seems to imply the least little bit of seriousness in treat-



"Boats and Houses," by Abraham Harriton. From his one-man exhibit at the ACA, 63 E. 57th St., through May 13.

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ment, forget it. The proceedings from the moment the characters are taken out of the Pandora's box to the finale around the Trojan horse are unflaggingly light, swift, and full of charming wit and nonsense. The surroundings are by Robert Edmund Jones at his best: architectural, simple, imaginative. Ladislas Czettel has dressed the cast in a splurge of pastels and silver and gold. Leonide Massine's choreography is at times confusing in its mass effect, but generally gains from the freedom with which the dancers move. Most gratifying of all blessings, the singers can really sing! Metropolitan Opera star Jarmila Novotna, always beautiful to watch and an accomplished actress, sings Helen in lovely voice. William Horne is perhaps a bit stiff as Paris, but his tenor is rich and flexible. Rose Ingraham, who is Discordia, the goddess who conceives the apple mischief, is impishly ingratiating and sings in a small, but very pleasing manner. There are many more good voices. But the most astonishing phenomenon is to hear Truex and Ralph Dumke sing—and though their voices are cracked—most delightfully! And to see them dance—wonderful clowns, both! Mr. Korngold conducts his reading of Offenbach with appropriate verve. The production was staged by Herbert Graf. And now the New Opera Company has another deserved hit to place beside its *Merry Widow* and *Rosalinda*.

I HAVE placed the discussion of Nat Sherman's *War President* last, precisely because it is one of the most important plays shown this year. Performed without sets and with less rehearsal than is customary, it nevertheless came through as an amazingly pertinent drama, seriously conceived and for the most part well worked out. The conflict revolves around the decisions Lincoln had to make in regard to General McClellan's participation in the war and later in the Presidential election in which the arrogant copperhead opposed him.

In successive scenes we see War Secretary Stanton, the members of a congressional committee, Horace Greeley, and two Generals fresh from the battlefield bring Lincoln mounting proof of McClellan's studied and conspiratorial effort to avoid fighting, to draw out the war beyond the people's patience and strength so as to achieve the conditions for a negotiated peace and the continuation of the power of Southern slaveocracy. But though Lincoln fully realizes the danger of McClellan's inactivity and disengaging tactics, he continues to demand more proof of the General's disloyalty. It may be said here that in essence this is a true reading of Lincoln's hesitancy to act drastically, whether in the General's case or in the emancipation of the Negroes. Lincoln had his own sense of historical timing; occasionally it lagged behind public opinion.

However, in Sherman's presentation of the events leading up to the firing of McClellan, Lincoln is shown as wrestling with his own personal determination to be utterly just to the man to the extent where the audience begins to lose faith in Lincoln and to wonder about his larger wisdom. This would not have happened had the author injected a few of McClellan's proponents from the organized ranks of the pro-South forces as evidence of the indubitable pressure on Lincoln in favor of retaining the General. The struggle then would have been between two forces, with Lincoln between them moving toward clarity, rather than between the Stanton-Greeley group and the President. This would have been truer and would have made for a more imposing conflict and therefore an even better play.

Among the most interesting facets of the play are certain parallels between its period and today. In both periods, the defeatists and outright traitors prove themselves a definite block to victory. In both periods, forces opposed to the winning of the war strive mightily to prevent the mass destruction of the enemy in the hope of a negotiated peace. And as in the Presidential election of that day, so now these forces will be more readily defeated by victories comparable to those of Grant and Sherman and Sheridan.

Sherman's Lincoln was played by Joel Ashley with quiet, consistent strength so that he grew upon us convincingly in the course of the action. Alexander Scourby was McClellan, an overbearing slick figure of a man who was not written as roundly as Lincoln. Perhaps the most original portrait was that of Mary Lincoln whom Sherman presents as a sometimes misguided woman, but as on the whole a passionate mother and a wife whom Lincoln is glad to lean upon for occasional encouragement and advice. Joanna Roos played her with fierce intelligence and feeling. The rest of the cast also did well under the directorial baton of Wendell K. Phillips.

With some rewriting, *War President* can be a great play; but as it is, it speaks eloquently without stiffness and its people are real. Here is a fine play which Broadway should recognize by giving it immediate production.

Films of the Week

FOR some two decades now, the torch bearers of vaudeville have been lamenting its demise, blaming this insufferable state on the advent of the talking picture. But they were just out for the noise. Vaudeville has never been louder, or gaudier, or funnier, or played to more people, since the day Garbo came to Peoria on a sound track. The Hollywood musical has always been a combination of the stage musical revue and the variety show. When the old style vaudeville bill gave up the ghost, most of the performers—from

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Sophie Tucker and Ted Lewis to the dog acts—made tracks for Hollywood, and they have been doing their stuff for movie audiences ever since.

All of which brings us to the two current musicals, *Follow the Boys* (Universal) at the Criterion, and *Broadway Rhythm* (MGM) at the Capitol. Both contain more acts and turns than you could ever get for an equivalent of time or money in the old days, a fact which is good or bad depending on your capacity. I saw them both in one day, and it took me a full twenty-four hours to get my sights clear enough to know which one I was aiming at.

Follow the Boys is more self-conscious about vaudeville than most shows of its kind. It is chiefly concerned with show folks and their efforts on behalf of the boys overseas. In presenting the peripateia of the entertainers, the film gets in a long overdue plug for the Hollywood Victory Committee, the Writers Mobilization, and the USO Camp Shows.

The picture has some kind of a plot in which Vera Zorina and George Raft are the principals. It has something to do with the fact that he can't get into the Army because of a trick knee, and won't tell her, and with the fact that she is going to have a baby and won't tell him. So they get mad at each other and are never, never reconciled. I hoped to fathom the reason for it all, but I failed.

Happily the other performers seem to be unaware of the plot, or even that there is one. They do their stuff at convalescent hospitals, before troops resting, and right behind the lines. Dinah Shore sings a group of torch and blues songs, and she was never better. Orson Welles saws Marlene Dietrich in half. Incidentally, when the woman does the sawing, I will admit that equality of the sexes has finally arrived.

Other headliners are Sophie Tucker, Jeannette MacDonald, Carmen Amaya, who does a terrific Flamenco, and W. C. Fields in his famous pool-table routine. For me the big moment was the Delta Rhythm Boys singing the moving "House I Live In," written by Lewis Allen and Earl Robinson. I was glad to note that this Negro quartet, together with Louis Jordan's band, are part of an overseas camp show. Unfortunately the Army Special Services has not yet sent out more than one Negro unit (the one headed by Kenneth Spencer and discussed in NEW MASSES January 4). In view of the large part that Negro artists play in the entertainment world, this record is hardly supportable, to put it mildly.

Broadway Rhythm is better than its downstreet neighbor in some ways, and not so good in others. To begin with, it's in technicolor. You can make what you like out of that. Then again, it is free of Jeanette MacDonald, and that to my taste is one up for the Capitol contender.

The film introduces Ginny Simms,

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radio singer, who is given a little too much to do her first time out. She is supported by a pleasant enough company—George Murphy, Charles Winninger, Ben Blue, Nancy Walker, and others—but the picture drags because it talks too much. A musical should make music, dance, and bake an occasional cheese cake. Had it not been for the excellent dance routines, and the quality of the sporadic song and dance numbers, the dialogue would have choked the film to death. The performers include Lena Horne, whose "Brazilian Boogie" is the best thing she has ever done. Not only is her dance support well directed, but she herself is easy in her movements, freed of the stiffness and aloofness which have marred some of her previous work. Hazel Scott plays a number with her customary showmanship. Many of the entertainers were new to me. There were the Ross Sisters who start their act singing "Solid Potato Salad," in the manner of the Andrew Sisters, then wind it up as a trio of harem-scarem contortionists with a technique the small fry call "triple-jointed." The second lead, Gloria de Haven, has a pleasing voice, and the neatest pair of gams since Joan Blondell. It is testimony to the script's dullness that those two zanies, Ben Blue and Nancy Walker, really get nothing to do until the show is almost over. When they were finally set to work, their number, "Milkman, Keep Those Bottles Quiet," although a little reminiscent of "One O'Clock Jump," turned out to be one of the show's best numbers.

"ONE INCH FROM VICTORY," now at the Stanley, is a compilation of old newsreel clips and captured German films. Waiting for the picture to begin, one critic leaned toward a colleague and said "You know, for once I hope I'll see a bad picture. If these captured films are well made, I'll have to say so, and I sure hate to praise anything with a Nazi label." The gentleman in question could have saved his worry. He was apparently under the impression that the entire picture was made up of captured German war films. So was everybody else in the projection room. That's what the ads had led us all to believe. As a matter of record, the captured material, which constitutes less than half the footage, is actually dull. Some of the shots might even have been staged, since none of the shooting (camera) ever occurred anywhere near the front line.

As for the news clips, they deal mostly with Soviet-American relations, and it certainly does no harm to see them again. Although the advance notices promise to show *how* Hitler was defeated in the Soviet Union, actually these news shots show *why* it happened. The outcome of the war in the East rests on the character of the Soviet people, demonstrated over the years, from the October Revolution to the Teheran conference. Hence, although the Nazi armies were within gunshot of vic-

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tory, if victory is defined as the capture of major objectives, they never quite made it, at Moscow or Leningrad, in the Ukraine or the Caucasian mountains.

Quentin Reynolds, who on the whole has shown a firm grasp of the war's issues, is writer and narrator of the commentary. It is by far the best thing in the film, although what is said has reference to history, and not to what is taking place on the screen. In fact at one point, while the Nazis are storming Rostov, the commentary is concerned with events which occurred a year later. In the main the language department (publicity, advertising, and confidentially placed stories about the captured films) is miles ahead of the finished product. JOSEPH FOSTER.

Labor Abroad

(*Continued from page 23*)

Latin America and second in size only to Canada in the Western Hemisphere, a democratic Brazil will help to strengthen the democratic movement south of the Rio Grande. It will consolidate democratic governments in Chile, Mexico, Costa Rica, Uruguay, Colombia, and Cuba, and will provide a good example for its neighbors, Peru and Ecuador. And finally, it will serve as a warning that the extension of Argentine fascism either through outright intrigues as in the case of Bolivia and Paraguay, or through phoney "customs union" schemes will not be tolerated.

To the people of Brazil it will mean the realization of something for which they have ben striving for many years. It will mean that the efforts of the National Liberation Alliance and its leader, Luis Carlos Prestes, who has been in jail since 1936, will not have been in vain. It would not be an overstatement to say that the activities of the CTAL's 4,000,000 members in defense of democracy and in support of the war effort were largely instrumental in giving added momentum to the progressive trends which have been recently developing in Brazil.

Sun and Smog

(*Continued from page 7*)

roar of the mills, the flames that light and color the skies. I miss the miners with their kind, coal-rimmed eyes, the girls of the steel plants and railroad yards, in their slacks. It's an earthy, natural place—sorry for the wife here but not ashamed of the lovelorn Pittsburgh youth who fathered quadruplets in far off England; proud of Kelly who killed forty Nazis and bursting to welcome him back. I guess the only way I'll be reacclimated to my home town with its glitter and shine is if I can recruit at a similar pace, here in New York. I'll let you know later how I fare. Meanwhile, if you are not a Party member, good reader, I'm asking you, too. How about it?

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